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S K E T C H E S
O F T H E
H I S T O R Y O F M A N.
V O L U M E I.

Vol. 1 1837

SKEETES

HISTORY OF THE
NATIVE AMERICAN

VOLUME I

EDINBURGH

Printed for W. Creech, Edinburgh; and for
W. Strahan, and J. Cadell, London.

MDCCLXXXVII

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S K E T C H E S

O F T H E

H I S T O R Y O F M A N.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Henry Home Lord Kaimp

VOLUME I.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for W. CREECH, Edinburgh; and for
W. STRAHAN, and T. CADELL, London.

MDCCLXXIV.

S K E T C H E S

O F T H E

H I S T O R Y O F M A N



I N T H E M U S E U M

V O L U M E I

E D I N B U R G H

Printed by W. Creech, Edinburgh, and by
W. Stanger, and T. Cadogan, London.

M D C C L X I V

P R E F A C E.

THE following work is the substance of various speculations, that occasionally amused the author, and enlivened his leisure-hours. It is not intended for the learned; they are above it: nor for the vulgar; they are below it. It is intended for men, who, equally removed from the corruption of opulence, and from the depression of bodily labour, are bent on useful knowledge; who, even in the delirium of youth, feel the dawn of patriotism, and who in riper years enjoy its meridian warmth. To such men this work is dedicated; and that they may profit by it, is the author's ardent wish, and probably will be while any spirit remains in him to form a wish.

May not he hope, that this work, child of his gray hairs, will survive, and bear testimony for him to good men, that even a laborious calling, which left him not many leisure-hours, never banished from his mind, that he would little deserve to be of the human species, were he indifferent about his fellow-creatures:

Homo sum : humani nihil a me alienum puto.

VOL. I.

b

Most

Most of the subjects handled in the following sheets, admit but of probable reasoning; which is not a little slippery, as with respect to many reasonings of that kind, it is difficult to pronounce, what degree of conviction they ought to produce. It is easy to form plausible arguments; but to form such as will stand the test of time, is not always easy. I could amuse the reader with numerous examples of conjectural arguments, which, fair at a distant view, vanish like a cloud on a near approach. In the first sketch of this book, not to go farther, he will find recorded more than one example. The dread of being misled by such arguments, filled the author with anxiety; and after his utmost attention, he can but faintly hope, that he has not often wandered far from truth.

Above thirty years ago, he began to collect materials for a natural history of man; and in the vigour of youth, did not think the undertaking too bold, even for a single hand. He has discovered of late, that his utmost abilities are scarce sufficient for executing a few imperfect sketches.

Edinburgh, Feb. 23. 1774.

To the READER.

As one great object of the Editor is to make this a popular work, he has, chiefly with a view to the female sex, subjoined an English translation of all the quotations from other languages.

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As one great object of the Editor is to make this
a popular work, he has, chiefly with a view to the
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S K E T C H E S
O F T H E
H I S T O R Y O F M A N .

B O O K I .

Progress of MEN as INDIVIDUALS.

S K E T C H I I .

DIVERSITY of MEN and of LANGUAGES.

WHETHER there be different races of men, or whether all men be of one race, without any difference but what proceeds from climate or other accident, is a profound question of natural history, which remains still undetermined after all that has been said upon it. As the question is of moment in tracing the history of man, I purpose to
Vol. I. A contribute

contribute my mite; and in order to admit all the light possible, a view of brute animals as divided into different races or kinds, will make a proper introduction.

As many animals contribute to our well-being, by labouring for us, or by affording us food and raiment, and as many are noxious; our terrestrial habitation would be little comfortable, had we no means but experience for distinguishing the one sort from the other. Were each individual animal a species by itself, (indulging the expression), differing from every other individual, a man would finish his days without acquiring so much knowledge of animals as is necessary even for self-preservation: experience would give him no aid with respect to any individual of which he has no experience. The Deity has left none of his works imperfect. Animals are formed of different kinds, each kind having a figure and a temper peculiar to itself. Great uniformity is discovered among animals of the same kind; no less variety among animals of different kinds: and to prevent confusion, kinds are distinguished externally by figure, air, manner, so clearly as not to escape even a child *. To complete this curious system, we have an innate sense, that each kind is endued with properties peculiar to itself; and that these properties belong to every individual of the kind (a). Our road to the knowledge of animals is thus wonderfully abridged: the experience we have of the disposition and properties of any animal, is applied without hesitation to every one of the kind. By that sense, a child, familiar with one dog, is fond of others that resemble it: an European, upon the

* "And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field." *Gen. ii. 19.*

(a) See *Elements of Criticism*, edit. 4. vol. 2. p. 490.

first sight of a cow in Africa, strokes it as gentle and innocent; and an African avoids a tiger in Hindostan as at home.

If the foregoing theory be well founded, neither experience nor argument is required to prove, that a horse is not an ass, or that a monkey is not a man (a). Some animals indeed are so similar, as to render it uncertain whether they be not radically of the same species. But in every such instance there is little need to be solicitous; for I venture to affirm, that both will be found gentle or fierce, wholesome food or unwholesome. Such questions may be curious, but they are of no use.

The division of brute animals into different kinds, is not more useful to man than to the animals themselves. A beast of prey would be ill fitted for its station, if nature did not teach it what creatures to attack, and what to avoid. A rabbit is the prey of the ferret. Present a rabbit, even dead, to a young ferret that never had seen a rabbit; it throws itself upon the body, and bites it with fury. A hound has the same instinct with respect to a hare, and most dogs have it. Unless directed by nature, innocent animals would not know their enemy till they were in its clutches. A hare flies with precipitation from the first dog it ever saw; and a chicken, upon the first sight of a kite, cowers under its dam. Social animals, without scruple, connect with their own kind, and as readily avoid others *. Birds are not afraid of quadrupeds; not even of a cat, till they are taught by experience that a cat is their enemy. They appear to be as little afraid of a man naturally; and upon that account are far from being shy when left un-

* The populace about Smyrna have a cruel amusement. They lay the eggs of a hen in a stork's nest. Upon seeing the chickens, the male in amazement calls his neighbouring storks together; who, to revenge the affront put upon them, destroy the poor innocent female; while he bewails his misfortune in heavy lamentation.

(a) See M. Buffon's natural history.

molested. In the uninhabited island of Visia Grandé, one of the Philippines, Kempfer says, that birds may be taken with the hand. Hawks, in some of the South-sea islands, are equally tame. At Port Egmont in the Falkland Islands, geese, far from being shy, may be knocked down with a stick. The birds that inhabit certain rocks hanging over the sea in the island of Annabon, take food readily out of a man's hand. In Arabia Felix, foxes and apes show no fear of man; the inhabitants of hot countries having no notion of hunting. In the uninhabited island Bering, adjacent to Kamiskatka, the foxes are so little shy that they scarce go out of a man's way. Doth not this observation suggest a final cause? A partridge, a plover, a pheasant, would be lost to man for food, were they naturally as much afraid of him as of a hawk or a kite.

The division of animals into different kinds, serves another purpose, not less important than those mentioned; which is, to fit them for different climates. We learn from experience, that no animal nor vegetable is fitted for every climate; and from experience we also learn, that there is no animal nor vegetable but what is fitted for some climate, where it grows to perfection. Even in the torrid zone, plants of a cold country are found upon mountains where plants of a hot country will not grow; and the height of a mountain may be determined with tolerable precision from the plants it produces. Wheat is not an indigenous plant in Britain; no farmer is ignorant that foreign seed is requisite to preserve the plant in vigour. To prevent flax from degenerating in Scotland and Ireland, great quantities of foreign seed are annually imported. A camel is peculiarly fitted for the burning sands of Arabia; and Lapland would be uninhabitable but for rein-deer, an animal so entirely fitted for piercing cold, that it cannot subsist even in a temperate climate. Arabian and Barbary horses degenerate in Britain; and to preserve the breed in some degree of perfection, frequent supplies from their original climate are requisite. Spanish
horses

horses degenerate in Mexico, but improve in Chili; having more vigour and swiftness there than even the Andalusian race whose offspring they are. Our dunghill-fowl, imported originally from a warm country in Asia, are not hardened, even after many centuries, to bear the cold of this country like birds originally native: the hen lays few or no eggs in winter, unless in a house warmed with fire. The deserts of Zaara and Biledulgerid in Africa, may be properly termed the native country of lions: there they grow to nine feet long and five feet high. Lions in the south of Africa toward the Cape of Good Hope, grow but to five feet and a half long and to three and a half high. A breed of lions transplanted from the latter to the former, would rise to the full size; and sink to the smaller size, if transplanted from the former to the latter.

To preserve the different species of animals entire, as far as necessary, Providence is careful to prevent a mixed breed. Few animals of different species copulate together. Some may be brought to copulate, but without effect; and some produce a mongrel, a mule for example, which seldom procreates, if at all. In some few instances, where a mixture of species is harmless, procreation goes on without limitation. All the different species of the dog kind copulate together, and the mongrels produced generate others without end. But dogs are by their nature companions to men; and Providence probably has permitted a mixture, in order that every man may have a dog to his liking.

M. Buffon in his natural history borrows from Ray (a) a very artificial rule for ascertaining the different species of animals: "Any two animals that can procreate together, and whose issue
" can also procreate, are of the same species (b)." A horse and an

(a) Wisdom of God in the works of creation.

(b) Octavo edit. vol. 8. p. 104. and in many other parts.

as can procreate together; but they are not, says he, of the same species, because their issue, a mule, cannot procreate. He applies that rule to the human race; holding all men to be of one race or species, because a man and a woman, however different in size, in shape, in complexion, can procreate together without end. And by the same rule he holds all dogs to be of one species. With respect to other animals, the rule should pass without opposition from me; but as it also respects man, the subject of the present inquiry, I propose to examine it with attention. Providence, it is true, hath prevented confusion; for in most instances it hath with-held from animals of different species a power of procreating together: but as our author has not attempted to prove that such restraint is universal without a single exception, his rule is evidently a *petitio principii*. Why may not two animals different in species produce a mixed breed? Buffon must say, that by a law of nature animals of different species never produce a mixed breed. But has he proved this to be a law of nature? On the contrary, he more than once mentions several exceptions. He admits the sheep and the goat to be of different species; and yet we have his authority for affirming, that a he-goat and a ewe produce a mixed breed which generate for ever (a). The camel and the dromedary, tho' nearly related, are however no less distinct than the horse and the ass. The dromedary is less than the camel, more slender, and remarkably more swift of foot: it has but one bunch on its back, the camel has two: the race is more numerous than that of the camel, and more widely spread. One would not desire distinguishing marks more satisfying; and yet these two species propagate together no less freely than the different races of men and of dogs. Buffon indeed, with respect to the camel and dromedary, endeavours to save his credit,

(a) Vol. 10. p. 138.

by a distinction without a difference. "They are," says he, "one species; but their races are different, and have been so past all memory (a)." Does this say more than that the camel and the dromedary are different species of the same genus? which also holds true of the different species of men and of dogs. If our author will permit me to carry back to the creation the camel and the dromedary as two distinct races, I desire no other concession. He admits no fewer than ten kinds of goats, visibly distinguishable, which also propagate together; but says that these are varieties only, tho' permanent and unchangeable. No difficulty is unfurmountable if words be allowed to pass without meaning. Nor does he even preserve any consistency in his opinions: Tho' in distinguishing a horse from an ass, he affirms the mule they generate to be barren, yet afterward, entirely forgetting his rule, he admits the direct contrary (b). At that rate a horse and an ass are of the same species. Did it never once enter into the mind of this author, that the human race would be strangely imperfect, if they were unable to distinguish a man from a monkey, or a hare from a hedge-hog, till it were known whether they can procreate together?

But it seems unnecessary after all to urge any argument against the foregoing rule, which M. Buffon himself inadvertently abandons as to all animals, men and dogs excepted. We are indebted to him for a remark, That not a single animal of the torrid zone is common to the old world and to the new. But how does he verify his remark? Does he ever think of trying whether such animals can procreate together? "They are," says he, "of different kinds, having no such resemblance as to make us pronounce them to be of the same kind. Linnæus and Brisson,"

(a) Vol. 10. p. 1.

(b) Vol. 12. p. 223.

he adds, " have very improperly given the name of the camel " to the lama and the pacos of Peru. So apparent is the difference, that other writers class these animals with sheep. Wool " however is the only circumstance in which a pacos resembles " a sheep: nor doth the lama resemble a camel except in length of " neck." He distinguisheth in the same manner, the true Asiatic tiger from several American animals that bear the same name. He mentions its size, its force, its ferocity, the colour of its hair, the strips black and white that like rings surround alternately its trunk, and are continued to the end of its tail; " characters," says he, " that clearly distinguish the true tiger from all animals " of prey in the new world; the largest of which scarce equals " one of our mastives." And he reasons in the same manner upon the other animals of the torrid zone (a). Here then we have M. Buffon's authority against himself, that there are different races of men; for he cannot deny that certain tribes differ apparently from each other, not less than the lama and pacos from the camel or from the sheep, nor less than the true tiger from the American animals of that name. Which of his rules are we to follow? Must we apply different rules to different animals? and to what animals are we to apply the different rules? For proving that dogs were created of different kinds, what better evidence can be expected than that the kinds continue distinct to this day? Our author pretends to derive the mastiff, the bull-dog, the hound, the greyhound, the terrier, the water-dog, &c. all of them from the prick-ear shepherd's cur. Now, admitting the progeny of the original male and female cur to have suffered every possible alteration from climate, food, domestication; the result would be endless varieties, so as that no one individual should resemble another. Whence then are derived the different species

(a) See vol. 8. sec. Of animals common to the two continents.

of dogs above mentioned, or the different races or varieties, as M. Buffon is pleased to name them? Uniformity and permanency must be a law in their nature, for they never can be the production of chance. There are mongrels, it is true, among dogs, from want of choice, or from a depraved appetite: but as all animals prefer their own kind, mongrels are few compared with animals of a true breed. There are mongrels also among men: the several kinds however continue distinct; and probably will so continue for ever.

The celebrated Linnæus, instead of describing every animal according to its kind as Adam our first parent did, and Buffon copying from him, has wandered wonderfully far from nature in classing animals. He distributes them into six classes, viz. *Mammalia*, *Aves*, *Amphibia*, *Pisces*, *Insecta*, *Vermes*. The *Mammalia* are distributed into seven orders, chiefly from their teeth, viz. *Primates*, *Bruta*, *Ferae*, *Gliræ*, *Pecora*, *Belluæ*, *Cete*. And the *Primates* are *Homo*, *Simia*, *Lemur*, *Vespertilio*. What may have been his purpose in classing animals so, I cannot guess, if it be not to enable us, from the nipples and teeth of any particular animal, to know where it lies in his book. It resembles the classing books in a library by size, or by binding, without regard to the contents. It may serve as a sort of dictionary; but to no other purpose so far as I can discover. How whimsical is it to class together animals that nature hath widely separated, a man for example and a bat? What will a plain man think of a method of classing that denies a whale to be a fish? Beside, one would wish to know why in classing animals he confines himself to the nipples and the teeth, when there are many other distinguishing marks. Animals are not less distinguishable by their tails; long tails, short tails, no tails: nor less distinguishable by their hands, some having four hands, some two, some none, &c. &c. At the

same time, if any solid instruction is to be acquired from such classing, I shall listen, not only with attention, but with satisfaction.

And now more particularly of man, after discussing other animals. If the only rule afforded by nature for classing animals can be depended on, there are different races of men as well as of dogs: a mastiff differs not more from a spaniel, than a white man from a negro, or a Laplander from a Dane. And if we have any faith in Providence, it ought to be so. Plants were created of different kinds to fit them for different climates, and so were brute animals. Certain it is, that all men are not fitted equally for every climate. There is scarce a climate but what is natural to some men, where they prosper and flourish; and there is not a climate but where some men degenerate. Doth not then analogy lead us to conclude, that as there are different climates on the face of this globe, so there are different races of men fitted for these different climates? The inhabitants of the frozen regions of the north, men, birds, beasts, fish, are all of them provided with a quantity of fat which guards them against cold. Even the trees are full of rosin. The Esquimaux inhabit a bitter cold country; and their blood and their breath are remarkably warm. The island St Thomas, under the line, is extremely foggy; and the natives are fitted for that sort of weather, by the rigidity of their fibres. The fog is dispelled in July and August by dry winds; which give vigour to Europeans, whose fibres are relaxed by the moisture of the atmosphere, as by a warm bath. The natives, on the contrary, who are not fitted for a dry air, have more diseases in July and August than during the other ten months. On the other hand, instances are without number of men degenerating in a climate to which they are not fitted by nature; and I know not of a single instance where in such a climate people have retained their original vigour. Several European colonies have subsisted in the torrid zone of America more than two centuries;

turies; and yet even that length of time has not familiarised them to the climate: they cannot bear heat like the original inhabitants, nor like negroes transplanted from a country equally hot: they are far from equalling in vigour of mind or body the nations from which they sprung. The Spanish inhabitants of Carthagená in South America lose their vigour and colour in a few months. Their motion is languid; and their words are pronounced with a low voice, and with long and frequent intervals. Europeans who are born in Batavia soon degenerate. Scarce one of them has talents sufficient to bear a part in the administration. There is not an office of trust or figure but what is filled with native Europeans. Some Portuguese, who have been for ages settled on the sea-coast of Congo, retain scarce the appearance of men. South Carolina, especially about Charlestown, is extremely hot, having no sea-breeze to cool the air. Europeans there die so fast that they have not time to degenerate. Even in Jamaica, tho' more temperate by a regular succession of land and sea-breezes, recruits from Britain are necessary to keep up the numbers. The climate of the northern provinces resembles our own, and population goes on with great rapidity.

Thus it appears that there are different races of men fitted by nature for different climates. Upon a thorough examination another fact will perhaps also appear, that the natural productions of each climate make the most wholesome food for the people who are fitted to live in it. Between the tropics, the natives live chiefly on fruits, seeds, and roots; and it is the opinion of the most knowing naturalists, that such food is of all the most wholesome for the torrid zone, comprehending the hot plants, which grow there to perfection, and tend greatly to fortify the stomach. In a temperate climate, a mixture of animal and vegetable food is held to be the most wholesome; and there both animals and vegetables abound. In a cold climate, animals are in plenty, but

scarce any vegetables that can serve for food to man. What physicians pronounce upon that head, I know not; but if we dare venture a conjecture from analogy, animal food will be found the most wholesome for such as are made by nature to live in a cold climate.

M. Buffon, from the rule, That animals which can procreate together, and whose progeny can also procreate, are of one-species, concludes, that all men are of one race or species; and endeavours to support that favourite opinion by ascribing to the climate, to food, or to other accidental causes, all the varieties that are found among men. But is he seriously of opinion, that any operation of climate, or of other accidental cause, can account for the copper colour and smooth chin universal among the Americans, the prominence of the *pudenda* universal among Hottentot women, or the black nipple no less universal among female Samoides? The thick fogs of the island St Thomas may relax the fibres of the natives, but cannot make them more rigid than they are naturally. Whence then the difference with respect to rigidity of fibres between them and Europeans, but from original nature? It is in vain to ascribe to the climate the low stature of the Esquimaux, the smallness of their feet, or the overgrown size of their head. It is equally in vain to ascribe to climate the low stature of the Laplanders *, or their ugly visage. Lapland is indeed piercingly cold; but so is Finland, and the northern parts of Norway, the inhabitants of which are tall, comely, and well proportioned. The black colour of negroes, thick lips, flat nose, crisped woolly hair, and rank smell, distinguish them from every other race of men. The Abyssinians on the contrary are tall and well made,

* By late accounts it appears that the Laplanders are only degenerated Tartars; and that they and the Hungarians originally sprung from the same breed of men, and from the same country. Pere Hel, the Jesuit, an Hungarian, made lately this discovery, when sent to Lapland for making some astronomical observations.

their

their complexion a brown olive, features well proportioned, eyes large and of a sparkling black, thin lips, a nose rather high than flat. There is no such difference of climate between Abyssinia and Negroland as to produce these striking differences. At any rate, there must be a considerable mixture both of soil and climate in these extensive regions; and yet not the least mixture is perceived in the people.

If the climate have any commanding influence, it must be chiefly displayed upon the complexion; and in that article accordingly our author exults. "Man," says he, "white in Europe, black in Africa, yellow in Asia, and red in America, is still the same animal, tinged only with the colour of the climate. Where the heat is excessive, as in Guinea and Senegal, the people are perfectly black; where less excessive, as in Abyssinia, the people are less black; where it is more temperate, as in Barbary and in Arabia, they are brown; and where mild, as in Europe and Lesser Asia, they are fair (a)." But here he triumphs without a victory: he is forced to acknowledge, that the Samoides, Laplanders, and Greenlanders, are of a fallow complexion; for which he has the following salvo, that the extremities of heat and of cold produce nearly the same effects on the skin. But he is totally silent upon a fact that singly overturns his whole system of colour, viz. that all Americans without exception are of a copper colour, tho' in that vast continent there is every variety of climate. Neither doth the black colour of some Africans, nor the brown colour of others, correspond to the climate. The people of the desert of Zaara, commonly termed Lower Ethiopia, tho' exposed to the vertical rays of the sun in a burning sand yielding not even to Guinea in heat, are of a tawny colour, far from being jet black like negroes. The natives of Monomotapa are perfectly black, with crisped woolly hair, tho' the southern parts of that extensive kingdom are in a

(a) Book 5.

temperate climate, very different from that of Guinea. And the Caffres, even those who live near the Cape of Good Hope, are the same sort of people. The heat of Abyffinia approacheth nearer to that of Guinea; and yet, as mentioned above, the inhabitants are not black. Nor shall our author's ingenious observation concerning the extremities of heat and cold purchase him impunity with respect to the fallow complexion of the Samoides, Laplanders, and Greenlanders. The Finlanders and northern Norwegians live in a climate not less cold than that of the people mentioned; and yet are fair beyond other Europeans. I say more, there are many instances of races of people preserving their original colour in climates very different from their own; but not a single instance of the contrary so far as I can learn. There have been four complete generations of negroes in Pensylvania without any visible change of colour: they continue jet black as originally. Shaw, in his travels through Barbary, mentions a people inhabiting the mountains of Aurefs bordering upon Algiers on the south, who appeared to be of a different race from the Moors. Their complexion, far from swarthy, is fair and ruddy; and their hair a deep yellow, instead of being dark as among the neighbouring Moors. He conjectures them to be a remnant of the Vandals, perhaps the tribe mentioned by Procopius in his first book of the Vandalic war. If the European complexion be proof against a hot climate for a thousand years, I pronounce that it will never yield to climate. In the suburbs of Cochín, a town in Malabar, there is a colony of industrious Jews of the same complexion they have in Europe. They pretend that they were established there during the captivity of Babylon: it is unquestionable that they have been many ages in that country. Those who ascribe all to the sun, ought to consider how little probable it is, that the colour it impresses on the parents should be communicated to their infant children, who never saw the sun: I should be as soon induced to believe

lieve with a German naturalist, whose name has escaped me, that the negro colour is owing to an ancient custom in Africa of dying the skin black. Let a European for years expose himself to the sun in a hot climate, till he be quite brown, his children will nevertheless have the same complexion with those in Europe. The Hottentots are continually at work, and have been for ages, to darken their complexion; but that operation has no effect on their children. From the action of the sun is it possible to explain, why a negro, like a European, is born with a ruddy skin, which turns jet black the eighth or ninth day?

Different tribes are distinguishable, not less by internal disposition than by external figure. Nations are for the most part so blended by war, by commerce, or by other means, that vain would be the attempt to trace out an original character in any cultivated nation. But there are savage tribes, which, so far as can be discovered, continue to this day pure without mixture, who act by instinct not art, who have not learned to disguise their passions: to such I confine the inquiry. There is no propensity in human nature more general than aversion to strangers, as will be made evident in a following sketch (a). And yet some nations must be excepted, not indeed many in number, who are remarkably kind to strangers; by which circumstance they appear to be of a peculiar race. In order to set the exceptions in a clear light, a few instances shall be premised of the general propensity. The nations that may be the most relied on for an original character, are islanders at a distance from the continent and from each other. Among such, great variety of character is found. Some islands adjacent to New Guinea, are inhabited by negroes, a bold, mischievous, untractable race; always ready to attack strangers when they approach the shore. The people of New Zealand are of a

(a) Book 2. sketch 2.

large size and of a hoarse voice. They appeared shy according to Tasman's account. Some of them however ventured on board in order to trade; but finding opportunity, they surprised seven of his men in a shallop, and without the slightest provocation killed three of them, the rest having escaped by swimming. The island called *Recreation*, 16th degree southern latitude and 148th of longitude west from London, was discovered in Roggewein's voyage. Upon sight of the ships, the natives flocked to the shore with long pikes. The crew made good their landing, having beat back the natives by a continued fire of muskets; who, returning after a short interval, accepted presents of beads, small looking-glasses, and other trinkets, without shewing the least fear: they even assisted the crew in gathering herbs for those who were afflicted with the scurvy. Some of the crew traversing the island in great security, and trusting to some of the natives who led the way, were carried into a deep valley surrounded with rocks; where they were instantly attacked on every side with large stones; and with difficulty made their escape, but not without leaving several dead upon the field. In Commodore Byron's voyage to the South sea, an island was discovered named *Disappointment*. The shore was filled with natives in arms to prevent landing. They were black, and without cloathing, except what covered the parts that nature teaches to hide. But a specimen is sufficient here, as the subject will be fully illustrated in the sketch referred to above.

The kindness of some tribes to strangers deserves more attention, being not a little singular. Gonneville, commander of a French ship in a voyage to the East Indies in the year 1503, was probably the first European who visited the *Terra Australis Incognita*; being driven thither by a tempest. He continued six months in that country, while his vessel was refitting; and the manners he describes were in all appearance original. The natives had not made a greater progress in the arts of life than the savage Canadians have

have done; ill clothed; and worse lodged, having no light in their cabins but what came in through a hole in the roof. They were divided into small tribes, governed each by a king; who, tho' neither better clothed nor lodged than others, had power of life and death over his subjects. They were a simple and peaceable people; and in a manner worshipped the French, providing them with necessaries, and in return thankfully receiving knives, hatchets, small looking-glasses, and other such baubles. In a part of California the men go naked; and are fond of feathers and shells. They are governed by a king, with great mildness; and of all savages are the most humane, even to strangers. An island discovered in the South sea by Tasman, 21st degree of southern latitude and 177th of longitude west from London, was called by him *Amsterdam*. The natives, who had no arms offensive nor defensive, treated the Dutch with great civility, except in being given to pilfering. At no great distance another island was discovered, named *Annamocha* by the natives, and *Rotterdam* by Tasman; possessed by a people resembling those last mentioned, particularly in having no arms. The Dutch, sailing round the island, saw abundance of cocoa-trees planted in rows, with many other fruit-bearing trees, kept in excellent order. Commodore Roggewein, commander of a Dutch fleet, discovered, an. 1721, a new island in the South sea; inhabited by a people lively, active, and swift of foot; of a sweet and modest deportment: but timorous and faint-hearted; for having on their knees presented some refreshments to the Dutch, they retired with precipitation. Numbers of idols cut in stone were set up along the coast, in the figure of men with large ears, and the head covered with a crown; the whole nicely proportioned and highly finished. They fled for refuge to these idols: and they could do no better; for they had no weapons either offensive or defensive. Neither was there any appearance of government or subordination; for they all spoke

and acted with equal freedom. This island, situated 28 degrees 30 minutes southern latitude, and about 115 degrees of longitude west from London, is by the Dutch called *Easter* or *Pasch Island* *. The Commodore directing his course north-west, discovered in the southern latitude of 12 degrees, and in the longitude of 190, a cluster of other islands, planted with variety of fruit-trees, and bearing herbs, corn, and roots, in plenty. When the ships approached the shore, the inhabitants came in their canoes with fish, cocoa-nuts, Indian figs, and other refreshments; for which they received small looking-glasses, strings of beads, and other toys. These islands were well peopled: many thousands thronged to the shore to see the ships, the men being armed with bows and arrows, and appearing to be governed by a chieftain: they were of the same complexion with that of Europe, only a little more sunburnt. They were brisk and lively, treating one another with civility; and in their behaviour expressing nothing wild nor savage. Their bodies were not painted; but handsomely clothed, from the middle downward, with silk fringes in neat folds. Large hats screened their faces from the sun, and collars of odoriferous flowers surrounded their necks. The face of the country is charming, being finely diversified with hills and vallies. Some of the islands are ten miles in circumference, some fifteen, and some twenty. The historian adds, that these islanders are in all respects the most civilized and the best tempered people they discovered in the South sea. Far from being afraid, they treated the Dutch with great kindness; and expressed much regret at their departure. These islands got the name of *Bowman's islands*, from the captain of the Tienhoven, who discovered them. In Commodore Byron's voyage to the South sea, while they were passing through the streights of Magel-

* The women were very loving, enticing the Dutchmen by every female art to the most intimate familiarity.

lan, some natives approached in their canoes; and upon invitation came on board, without fear, or even shyness. They at the same time appeared grossly stupid; and particularly could not comprehend the use of knives, offered to them in a present. In another part of the streights, the natives were highly delighted with the presents made them. M. Bougainville, in his voyage round the world, describes a people in the streights of Magellan, probably those last mentioned, as of a small stature, tame and peaceable, having scarce any cloathing in a climate bitterly cold. Commodore Byron discovered another island in the South sea covered with trees, which was named *Byron island*. The inhabitants were neither savage nor shy, trafficking freely with the crew, though they seemed addicted to thieving. One of them ventured into the ship. After leaving Otaheite, Mr Banks and Dr Solander, sailing westward, discovered a cluster of islands, termed by them *Society islands*: the natives were extremely civil, and appeared to have no aversion to strangers. The island of Oahena, north-west from that of Otaheite, is a delightful spot; the soil fertile, and the shores adorned with fruit-trees of various kinds. The inhabitants are well proportioned, with regular engaging features; the women uncommonly beautiful and delicate. The inhabitants behaved with great hospitality and probity to the people of the ship in which these gentlemen made a late voyage round the world.

To find the inhabitants of these remote islands differing so widely from the rest of the world as to have no aversion to strangers, but on the contrary showing great kindness to the first they probably ever saw, is a singular phenomenon. It is in vain here to talk of climate; because in all climates we find an aversion to strangers. From the instances given above, let us select two islands, or two clusters of islands, suppose for example Bowman's islands inhabited by Whites, and those adjacent to New Guinea inhabited by Blacks. Kindness to strangers is the national character

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of the former, and hatred to strangers is the national character of the latter. Virtues and vices as entering into the character of individuals, depend on causes so various, and so variable, as to give an impression of chance more than of design. We are not always certain of uniformity in the conduct even of the same person; far less that sons will inherit their father's virtues or vices. In most countries, a savage who has no aversion to strangers, nor to neighbouring clans, would be noted as singular: to find the same quality in every one of his children, would be surprising: and would be still more so, were it diffused widely through a multitude of his descendents. Yet a family is as nothing compared with a whole nation; and when we find kindness to strangers a national character in certain tribes, we reject with disdain the notion of chance, and perceive intuitively that effects so regular and permanent must be owing to a constant and invariable cause. Such effects cannot be accidental, more than the uniformity of male and female births in all countries and at all times. They cannot be accounted for from education or example, which indeed may contribute to spread a certain fashion or certain manners, but cannot be their fundamental cause. Where the greater part of a nation is of one character, education and example may extend it over the whole; but the character of that greater part can have no foundation but nature. What resource then have we for explaining the opposite manners of the islanders above mentioned, but that they are of different races?

The same doctrine is strongly confirmed upon finding courage or cowardice to be a national character. Individuals differ widely as to these; but a national character of courage or cowardice must depend on a permanent and invariable cause. I therefore proceed to instances of national courage and cowardice, that the reader may judge for himself, whether he can discover any other cause for such steady uniformity but diversity of race.

The northern nations of Europe and Asia have at all times been remarkable

remarkable for courage. Lucan endeavours to account for the courage of the Scandinavians from a firm belief, universal among them, that they should be happy in another world.

*Vobis auctoribus, umbrae,
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt; regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est. Certe populi, quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo; quos ille, timorum
Maximus, haud urget leti metus. Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris animeque capaces
Mortis * (a).*

Pretty well for a poet! but among all nations the soul is believed to be immortal, tho' all nations have not the courage of the

- * " If dying mortals dooms they sing aright,
- " No ghosts descend to dwell in endless night;
- " No parting souls to grisly Pluto go,
- " Nor seek the dreary silent shades below;
- " But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
- " And other bodies in new worlds they find.
- " Thus life for ever runs its endless race,
- " And, like a line, Death but divides the space;
- " A stop which can but for a moment last,
- " A point between the future and the past.
- " Thrice happy they beneath the northern skies,
- " Who that worst fear, the fear of death, despise;
- " Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
- " But rush undaunted on the pointed steel;
- " Provoke approaching fate, and bravely scorn
- " To spare that life which must so soon return."

Rowe.

(a) Lib. 1.

Scandi-

Scandinavians. The Caledonians were eminent for that virtue; and yet had no such opinion of happiness after death as to make them fond of dying. Souls after death were believed to have but a gloomy sort of existence, like what is described by Homer (*b*). Their courage therefore was a gift of nature, not of faith. The people of Malacca and of the neighbouring islands, who are all of the same race and speak the same language, are fierce, turbulent, and bold above any of the human species, tho' they inhabit the torrid zone, held commonly to be the land of cowardice. They never observe a treaty of peace when they have any temptation to break it; and are perpetually at war with their neighbours, or with one another. Instances there are, more than one, of twenty-five or thirty of them in a boat venturing, with no other weapons but poniards, to attack a European ship of war. These men inhabit a most fruitful country, which should naturally render them indolent and effeminate; a country abounding with variety of exquisite fruits and odoriferous flowers in endless succession; sufficient to sink any other people into voluptuousness. They are a remarkable exception from the observation of Herodotus, "That it is not given by the gods to any country, to produce rich crops and warlike men." This instance, with what are to follow, show past contradiction, that a hot climate is no enemy to courage. The inhabitants of New Zealand are of all men the most intrepid, and the least apt to be alarmed at danger. The Giagas are a fierce and bold people in the midst of the torrid zone of Africa: and so are the Ansieki, bordering on Loango. The wild Arabs, who live mostly within the torrid zone, are bold and resolute, holding war to be intended for them by Providence. The African negroes, tho' living in the hottest known country, are yet stout and vigorous, and the most healthy people in the universe. I need

(a) *Odyssey*, b. 11.

scarce mention again the negroes adjacent to New Guinea, who have an uncommon degree of boldness and ferocity. But I mention with pleasure the island Otaheite, discovered in the South sea by Wallis, because the inhabitants are not exceeded by any other people in firmness of mind. The inhabitants are numerous; and tho' the Dolphin was probably the first ship they had ever seen, yet they resolutely marched to the shore, and attacked her with a shower of stones. Some volleys of small shot made them give way: but returning with redoubled ardour, they did not totally lose heart till the great guns thundered in their ears. Nor even then did they run away in terror; but advising together, they assumed looks of peace, and signified a willingness to forbear hostilities. Peace being settled, they were singularly kind to our people, supplying their wants, and mixing with them in friendly intercourse *. When Mr Banks and Dr Solander were on the coast of New Holland, the natives seeing some of our men fishing near the shore, singled out a number of their own equal to those in the boat, who marching down to the water-edge, challenged the strangers to fight them; an instance of the most heroic courage. The people in that part of New Holland must be a very different race from those whom Dampier saw.

A noted author (a) holds all savages to be bold, impetuous, and proud; assigning for a cause, their equality and independence. As in that observation he seems to lay no weight on climate, and as little on original disposition, it is with regret that my subject leads me in this public manner to differ from him with respect to the latter. The character he gives in general to all savages, is in-

* It is remarkable that these people roast their meat with hot stones, as the Caledonians did in the days of Ossian.

(a) Mr Ferguson.

deed applicable to many savage tribes, our European forefathers in particular; but not to all. It but faintly suits even the North-American savages, whom our author seems to have had in his eye; for in war they carefully avoid open force, relying chiefly on stratagem and surprise. They value themselves, it is said, upon saving men; but as that motive was no less weighty in Europe, and indeed every where, the proneness of our forefathers to open violence, vouches for their superiority in active courage. The following incidents reported by Charlevoix give no favourable idea of some North-Americans with regard to that sort of courage. The fort de Vercheres in Canada, belonging to the French, was in the year 1690 attacked by some Iroquois. They approached silently, preparing to scale the palisade, when some musket-shot made them retire. Advancing a second time, they were again repulsed, wondering that they could discover none but a woman, who was seen every where. This was Madame de Vercheres, who appeared as resolute as if supported by a numerous garrison. The hopes of storming a place without men to defend it, occasioned reiterated attacks. After two days siege, they retired, fearing to be intercepted in their retreat. Two years after, a party of the same nation appeared before the fort so unexpectedly, that a girl of fourteen, daughter of the proprietor, had but time to shut the gate. With the young woman there was not a soul but one raw soldier. She showed herself with her assistant, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; changing her dress frequently in order to give some appearance of a garrison, and always fired opportunely. The faint-hearted Iroquois decamped without success.

But if the Americans abound not with active courage, their passive courage is beyond conception. Every writer expatiates upon the torments they endure, not only patiently, but with singular fortitude; deriding their tormentors, and braving their utmost cruelty. North-American savages differ indeed so widely from those

those formerly in Europe, that it is difficult to conceive them to be of the same race. Passive courage they have even to a wonder; but abound not in active courage: our European forefathers, on the contrary, were much more remarkable for active courage than for passive. The Kamskatkans in every article resemble the North-Americans. In war they are full of stratagem, but never attack openly if they can avoid it. When victorious, they murder without mercy, burn their prisoners alive, or tear out their bowels. If they be surrounded, and cannot escape, they turn desperate, cut the throats of their wives and children, and throw themselves into the midst of their enemies. And yet these people are abundantly free. Their want of active courage is the more surprising, because they make no difficulty of suicide when they fall into any distress. But their passive courage is equal to that of the Americans: when tortured in order to extort a confession, they show the utmost firmness; and seldom discover more than what they freely confess at their first examination.

The savages of Guiana are indolent, good-natured, submissive, and a little cowardly; tho' they yield not to the North-Americans as to equality and independence. The inhabitants of the Marion or Ladrone islands live in a state of perfect equality; every man avenges the injury done to himself; and even children are regardless of their parents. Yet these people are great cowards: in battle indeed they utter loud shouts; but it is more to animate themselves than to terrify the enemy. The negroes in the slave-coast of Guinea are good-natured and obliging; but not remarkable for courage. The Laplanders are of all the human species the most timid: upon the slightest surprise they fall down in a swoon like the feeblest female in England: thunder shakes them to pieces. The face of their country is nothing but rocks covered with moss: it would be scarce habitable but for rain-deer, on which the Laplanders chiefly depend for food.

The Macassars, inhabitants of the island Celebes in the torrid zone, differ from all other people. They have active courage above even the fiercest European savages; and they equal the North-American savages in passive courage. During the reign of Chaw Naraya King of Siam, a small party of Macassars, who were in the king's pay, having revolted, it required a whole army of Siamites to subdue them. Four Macassars, taken alive, were cruelly tortured. They were beat to mummy with cudgels, iron pins thrust under their nails, all their fingers broken, the flesh burnt off their arms, and their temples squeezed between boards; yet they bore all with unparalleled firmness. They even refused to be converted to Christianity, tho' the Jesuits upon that occasion offered to intercede for them. A tiger, let loose, having fastened on the foot of one of them, the man never once offered to draw it away. Another, without uttering a word, bore the tiger breaking the bones of his back. A third suffered the animal to lick the blood from his face, without shrinking, or turning away his eyes. During the whole of that horrid spectacle, they never once bewailed themselves, nor were heard to groan.

In concluding from the foregoing facts, that there are different races of men, I reckon upon strenuous opposition, not only from men biaised against what is new or uncommon, but from numberless sedate writers, who hold every distinguishing mark, internal as well as external, to be the effect of soil and climate. Against the former, patience is my only shield; but I cannot hope for any converts to a new opinion, without removing the arguments urged by the latter.

Among the endless number of writers who ascribe supreme efficacy to the climate, Vitruvius shall take the lead. The first chapter of his sixth book is entirely employed in describing the influence of climate on the constitution and temper of the natives.

The

The following is the substance. "For the sun, where he throws
"out a moderate degree of moisture, preserves the body in a
"temperate state; but where his rays are more fierce, he drains
"the body of moisture. In very cold regions, where the moi-
"sture is not suck'd up by the heat, the body, sucking in the
"dewy air, rises to a great size, and has a deep tone of voice.
"Northern nations accordingly, from cold and moisture, have
"large bodies, a white skin, red hair, gray eyes, and much
"blood. Nations, on the contrary, near the equator, are of small
"stature, tawny complexion, curled hair, black eyes, slender
"legs, and little blood. From want of blood they are cowardly:
"but they bear fevers well, their constitution being formed by
"heat. Northern nations, on the contrary, sink under a fe-
"ver; but from the abundance of blood, they are bold in war."
In another part of the chapter he adds, "From the thinness of the
"air, and enlivening heat, southern nations are quick in thought,
"and acute in reasoning. Those in the north, on the contrary,
"which breathe a thick and cold air, are dull and stupid." And
this he illustrates from the case of serpents, which in summer-
heat are active and vigorous; but in winter, become torpid and
immoveable. He then proceeds as follows. "It is then not at all
"surprising, that heat should sharpen the understanding, and cold
"blunt it. Thus the southern nations are ready in counsel and
"acute in thought; but make no figure in war, their courage
"being exhausted by the heat of the sun. The inhabitants of
"cold climates, prone to war, rush on with vehemence without
"the least fear; but are slow of understanding." Then he pro-
ceeds to account, upon the same principle, for the superiority of
the Romans in arms, and for the extent of their empire. "For
"as the planet Jupiter lies between the fervid heat of Mars and
"the bitter cold of Saturn; so Italy, in the middle of the tempe-

“rate zone, possesses all that is favourable in either climate. Thus
 “by conduct in war she overcomes the impetuous force of nor-
 “thern barbarians; and by vigour of arms confounds the politic
 “schemes of her southern neighbours. Divine providence ap-
 “pears to have placed the Romans in that happy situation, in or-
 “der that they might become masters of the world.”—Vege-
 tius accounts for the different characters of men from the same
 principle. “Omnes nationes quæ vicinæ sunt soli, nimio calo-
 “re siccatas, amplius quidem sapere, sed minus habere sanguinis
 “dicunt: ac propterea constantiam ac fiduciam cominus non
 “habere pugnandi, quia metuunt vulnera qui se exiguum san-
 “guinem habere noverunt. Contra, septentrionales populi, remoti
 “a solis ardoribus, inconsultiores quidem, sed tamen largo san-
 “guine redundantes, sunt ad bella promptissimi * (a).”——Servius,
 in his commentary on the *Æneid* of Virgil (b), says, “Afri versipel-
 “les, Græci leves, Galli pigrioris ingenii, quod natura climatum
 “facit †.”——Mallet, in the introduction to his history of Den-
 mark, copying Vitruvius and Vegetius, strains hard to derive fe-
 rocity and courage in the Scandinavians from the climate: “A
 “great abundance of blood, fibres strong and rigid, vigour inex-

* “Nations near the sun, being exsiccated by excessive heat, are said to have a
 “greater acuteness of understanding but less blood: on which account, in fight-
 “ing they are deficient in firmness and resolution; and dread the being wounded,
 “as conscious of their want of blood. The northern people, on the contrary, re-
 “moved from the ardor of the sun, are less remarkable for the powers of the
 “mind; but abounding in blood, they are prone to war.”

† “The Africans are subtle and full of stratagem, the Greeks are fickle, the
 “Gauls slow of parts, all which diversities are occasioned by the climate.”

(a) Lib. 1. cap. 2. De re militari.

(b) Lib. 6. ver. 724.

“haustible,

“ haustible, formed the temperament of the Germans, the Scandinavians, and of all other people who live under the same climate. Robust by the climate, and hardened with exercise, confidence in bodily strength formed their character. A man who relies on his own force, cannot bear restraint, nor submission to the arbitrary will of another. As he has no occasion for artifice, he is altogether a stranger to fraud or dissimulation. As he is always ready to repel force by force, he is not suspicious nor distrustful. His courage prompts him to be faithful in friendship, generous, and even magnanimous. He is averse to occupations that require more assiduity than action; because moderate exercise affords not to his blood and fibres that degree of agitation which suits them. Hence his disgust at arts and manufactures; and as passion labours to justify itself, hence his opinion, that war only and hunting are honourable professions.”

Before subscribing to this doctrine, I wish to be satisfied of a few particulars. Is our author certain, that inhabitants of cold countries have the greatest quantity of blood? And is he certain, that courage is in every man proportioned to the quantity of his blood *? Is he also certain, that ferocity and love of war did universally obtain among the northern Europeans? Tacitus reports

* At that rate, the loss of an ounce of blood may turn the balance. Courage makes an essential ingredient in magnanimity and heroism: are such elevated virtues corporeal merely? is the mind admitted for no share? This indeed would be a mortifying circumstance in the human race. But even supposing courage to be corporeal merely, it is however far from being proportioned to the quantity of blood: a greater quantity than can be circulated freely and easily by the force of the heart and arteries, becomes a disease, termed a *plethora*. Bodily courage is chiefly founded on the solids. When by the vigour and elasticity of the heart and arteries a brisk circulation of blood is produced, a man is in good spirits, lively and bold; a greater quantity of blood, instead of raising courage to a higher pitch, never fails to produce sluggishness, and depression of mind.

a very different character of the Chauci, who inhabited the north of Germany: "Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent: populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitia tueri. Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti, secretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniiis populantur. Idque præcipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod ut superiores agunt, non per injurias assequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac, si res poscat, exercitus * (a)." Again, with respect to the Aarii, he bears witness, that beside ferocity and strength of body, they were full of fraud and artifice. Neither do the Laplanders nor Samoides correspond to his description, being remarkable for pusillanimity, tho' inhabitants of a bitter cold country †. Lastly, a cold climate doth not always make the inhabitants averse to occupations that require more assiduity than action: the people of Iceland formerly were much addicted to study and literature; and for many centuries were the chief historians of the north. They are to this day fond of chess, and spend much of their time

* "So immense an extent of country is not possessed only, but filled by the Chauci; a race of people the noblest among the Germans, and who chuse to maintain their grandeur by justice rather than by violence. Confident of their strength, without the thirst of increasing their possessions, they live in quietness and security: they kindle no wars; they are strangers to plunder and to rapine; and what is the chief evidence both of their power and of their virtue; without oppressing any, they have attained a superiority over all. Yet when occasion requires, they are prompt to take the field; and their troops are speedily raised."

† Scheffer, in his history of Lapland, differs widely from the authors mentioned; for he ascribes the pusillanimity of the Laplanders to the coldness of their climate.

(a) De moribus Germanorum, cap. 35.

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in that amusement: there is scarce a peasant but who has a chess-board and men. Mr Banks and Dr Solander report, that the peasants of Iceland are addicted to history, not only of their own country, but of that of Europe.

The most formidable antagonist remains still on hand, viz. Montesquieu, who is a great champion for the climate; observing, that in hot climates people are timid like old men, and in cold climates bold like young men. This in effect is to maintain, that the torrid zone is an unfit habitation for men; that they degenerate in it, lose their natural vigour, and even in youth become like old men. That justly celebrated author certainly intended not any imputation on Providence; and yet, doth it not look like an imputation, to maintain, that so large a portion of the globe is fit for beasts only, not for men? He ought to have explained why a certain race of men may not be fitted for a hot climate, as others are for a temperate, or for a cold one. There does not appear any opposition between heat and courage, more than between cold and courage: on the contrary, courage seems more connected with heat than with cold. The fiercest and boldest animals, a lion, for example, a tiger, a panther, thrive no where so much as in the hottest climates. The great condor of Peru in the torrid zone, is a bird not a little fierce and rapacious. A lion visibly degenerates in a temperate climate. The lions of Mount Atlas, which is sometimes crowned with snow, have not the boldness, nor the force, nor the ferocity of such as tread the burning sands of Zaara and Biledulgerid. Our author, it is true, endeavours to support his opinion by natural causes. These are ingenious and plausible; but unluckily they are contradicted by stubborn facts, which will appear upon a very slight survey of this globe. The Samoides and Laplanders are living instances of uncommon pusillanimity in the inhabitants of a cold climate; and instances, not few in number, have been mentioned of warlike people in a hot climate. To these

I add the Hindows, whom our author will not admit to have any degree of courage; tho' he acknowledges, that, prompted by religion, the men voluntarily submit to dreadful tortures, and that even women are ambitious to burn themselves alive with their deceased husbands. In vain does he endeavour to account for such extraordinary exertions of fortitude, active as well as passive, by the force of imagination; as if imagination could operate more forcibly in a woman to burn herself alive, than on a man to meet his enemy in battle. The Malaysans and Scandinavians live in very opposite climates, and yet are equally courageous. Providence has placed these nations each of them in its proper climate: cold would benumb a Malayan in Sweden, heat would enervate a Swede in Malacca; and both would be rendered cowards. I stop here; for to enter the lists against an antagonist of so great fame, gives me a feeling as if I were treading on forbidden ground.

The colour of the Negroes, as above observed, affords a strong presumption of their being a different race from the Whites; and I once thought, that the presumption was supported by inferiority in their understanding. But it appears to me doubtful, upon second thoughts, whether the inferiority of their understanding may not be occasioned by their condition. A man never ripens in judgement nor in prudence but by exercising these powers. At home the negroes have little occasion to exercise either of them: they live upon fruits and roots, which grow without culture: they need little cloathing: and they erect houses without trouble or art. Abroad, they are miserable slaves, having no encouragement either to think or to act. Who can say how far they might improve in a state of freedom, were they obliged, like Europeans, to procure bread with the sweat of their brows? Some kingdoms in Negroland, particularly that of Whidah, have made great improvements in government, in police, and in manners. The negroes, particularly on the gold-coast, are naturally gay: they are industrious,

- industrious, apprehend readily what is said to them, have a good judgement, are equitable in their dealings, and accommodate themselves readily to the manners of strangers.

I shall close the survey with some instances that seem to differ widely from the common nature of man. The Giagas, a fierce and wandering nation in the heart of Africa, are in effect land-pirates, at war with all the world. They indulge in polygamy; but bury all their children the moment of birth, and chuse in their stead the most promising children taken in war. There is no principle among animals more prevalent than affection to their offspring: supposing the Giagas to be born without hands or without feet, would they be more distinguishable from the rest of mankind * ? The author of an account of Guiana, mentioning a deadly poison composed by the natives, says, "I do not find that even in their wars they ever use poisoned arrows. And yet it may be wondered, that a people living under no laws, acted with no religious principle, and unrestrained by the fear of present or future punishment, should not sometimes employ that fatal poison for gratifying hatred, jealousy, or revenge. But in a state of nature, though there are few restraints, there are also fewer temptations to vice; and the different tribes are

* I have oftener than once doubted whether the authors deserve credit from whom this account is taken; and, after all, I do not press it upon my readers. There is only one consideration that can bring it within the verge of probability, viz. the little affection that male savages have for their new-born children, which appears from the ancient practice of exposing them. The affection of the mother commences with the birth of the child; and had she a vote, no infant would ever be destroyed. But as the affection of the father begins much later, the practice of destroying new-born infants may be thought not altogether incredible in a wandering nation who live by rapine, and who can provide themselves with children more easily than by the tedious and precarious method of rearing them.

“doubtless sensible that poisoned arrows in war, would upon the whole do more mischief than good.” This writer it would seem has forgot, that prospects of future good or evil never have influence upon savages. Is it his opinion, that fear of future mischief to themselves, would make the negroes of New Guinea abstain from employing poisoned arrows against their enemies? We have nothing but original disposition to account for manners so singular in the savages of Guiana. The Japanese resent injuries in a manner which has not a parallel in any other part of the world: it is indeed so singular as scarce to be consistent with human nature. Others wreak their resentment on the person who affronts them; but an inhabitant of Japan wreaks it on himself: he rips up his own belly. Kempfer reports the following instance. A gentleman coming down the great stair of the Emperor’s palace, passed another going up, and their swords happened to clash. The person descending took offence: the other excused himself, saying that it was accidental; adding, that the swords only were concerned, and that his was as good as the other. I’ll show you the difference, says the person who began the quarrel: he drew his sword, and ripped up his own belly. The other, piqued at being thus prevented in revenge, hastened up with a plate he had in his hand for the Emperor’s table; and returning with equal speed, he in like manner ripped up his belly in sight of his antagonist, saying, “If I had not been serving my prince, you should not have got the start of me: but I shall die satisfied, having show’d you that my sword is as good as yours.” The same author gives an instance of uncommon ferocity in the Japanese, blended with manners highly polished. In the midst of a large company at dinner, a young woman, straining to reach a plate, unwarily suffered wind to escape. Ashamed and confounded, she raised her breasts to her mouth, tore them with her teeth, and expired on the spot. The Japanese are equally singular in some of their religious

gious opinions. They never supplicate the gods in distress; holding, that as the gods enjoy uninterrupted bliss, such supplications would be offensive to them. Their holidays accordingly are dedicated to feasts, weddings, and all public and private rejoicings. It is delightful to the gods, say they, to see men happy. They are far from being singular in thinking that a benevolent deity is pleased to see men happy; but nothing can be more inconsistent with the common feelings of men, than to hold, that in distress it is wrong to supplicate the author of our nature for relief, and that he will be displeased with such supplication. In deep affliction, there is certainly no balm equal to that of pouring out the heart to a benevolent deity, and expressing entire resignation to his will.

In support of the foregoing doctrine, many particulars still more extraordinary might have been quoted from Greek and Roman writers: but truth has no occasion for artifice; and I would not take advantage of celebrated names to vouch facts that appear incredible or uncertain. The Greeks and Romans made an illustrious figure in poetry, rhetoric, and all the fine arts; but they were little better than novices in natural history. More than half of the globe was to them what the *Terra Australis incognita* is to us; and imagination operates without control when it is not checked by knowledge: the ignorant at the same time are delighted with wonders; and the more wonderful a story is, the more welcome it is made. This may serve as an apology for ancient writers, even when they relate and believe facts to us incredible. Men at that period were ignorant, in a great measure, of nature, and of the limits of her operations. One concession will be made to me, that the writers mentioned who report things at second hand, are much more excusable than the earliest of our modern travellers, who pretend to vouch endless wonders from their own knowledge. Natural history, that of man especially, is of late years much ripen-

ed: no improbable tale is suffered to pass without a strict examination; and I have been careful to adopt no facts but what are vouched by late travellers and writers of credit. Were it true what Diodorus Siculus reports on the authority of Agatharchides of Cnidus, concerning the Ichthyophages on the east coast of Africa, it would be a more pregnant proof of a distinct race of men than any I have discovered. They are described to be so stupid, that even when their wives and children are killed in their fight, they stand insensible, and give no signs either of anger or of compassion. This I cannot believe upon so slight testimony; and the Greeks and Romans were at that time extremely credulous, being less acquainted with neighbouring nations, than we are with the Antipodes. The Balearic islands, Majorca, Minorca, Yvica, are at no great distance from Sicily; and yet Diodorus the Sicilian reports of the inhabitants, that at the solemnization of marriage all the male friends, and even the household servants, lay with the bride before the bridegroom was admitted. *Credat Judeus appella.* It would not be much more difficult to make me believe what is said by Pliny of the Blemmyans, that they had no head, and that the mouth and eyes were in the breast; or of the Arimaspi, who had but one eye, placed in the middle of the forehead; or of the Astomi, who having no mouth, could neither eat nor drink, but lived upon smelling; or of a thousand other absurdities which Pliny relates, with a grave face, in the 6th book of his natural history, cap. 30. and in the 7th book, cap. 2.

Thus upon an extensive survey of the inhabited parts of our globe, many nations are found differing so widely from each other, not only in complexion, in features, in shape, and in other external circumstances, but in temper and disposition, particularly in two capital articles, courage and the treatment of strangers, that even the certainty of there being different races could not make one expect more striking differences. Doth M. Buffon think

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it sufficient, barely to say, that such differences may possibly be the effect of climate, or of other accidental causes? The presumption is, that the differences subsisting at present have always subsisted; which ought to be held as true, till positive evidence be brought of the contrary: instead of which we are put off with bare suppositions and possibilities.

But not to rest entirely upon presumptive evidence, to me it appears clear from the very frame of the human body, that there must be different races of men fitted for different climates. Few animals are more affected than men generally are, not only with change of seasons in the same climate, but with change of weather in the same season. Can such a being be fitted for all climates equally? Impossible. A man must at least be hardened by nature against the slighter changes of seasons or weather: he ought to be altogether insensible of such changes. Yet from Sir John Pringle's observations on the diseases of the army, to go no further, it appears, that even military men, who ought of all to be the hardiest, are greatly affected by them. Horses and horned cattle sleep on the bare ground, wet or dry, without harm; and yet are not made for every climate: can a man be made for every climate, who is so much more delicate, that he cannot sleep on wet ground without hazard of some mortal disease?

But the argument I chiefly rely on is, That were all men of one species, there never could have existed, without a miracle, different kinds, such as exist at present. Giving allowance for every supposable variation of climate, or of other natural causes, what can follow, as observed about the dog-kind, but endless varieties among individuals, as among tulips in a garden, so as that no individual shall resemble another. Instead of which we find men of different kinds, the individuals of each kind remarkably uniform, and differing not less remarkably from the individuals of every other

other kind. Uniformity and permanency are the offspring of design, never of chance.

There is another argument that appears also to have weight: Horses with respect to size, shape, and spirit, differ widely in different climates. But let a male and a female of whatever climate be carried to a country where horses are in perfection, their progeny will improve gradually, and will acquire in time the perfection of their kind. Is not this a proof, that all horses are of one kind? If so, men are not all of one kind; for if a White mix with a Black in whatever climate, or a Hottentot with a Samoide, the result will not be either an improvement of the kind, or the contrary; but a mongrel breed differing from both parents. It is thus ascertained beyond any rational doubt, that there are different races or kinds of men, and that these races or kinds are naturally fitted for different climates: whence we have reason to conclude, that originally each kind was placed in its proper climate, whatever change may have happened in later times by war or commerce.

There is a remarkable fact that confirms the foregoing conjectures. As far back as history goes, or tradition kept alive by history, the earth was inhabited by savages divided into many small tribes, each tribe having a language peculiar to itself. Is it not natural to suppose, that these original tribes were different races of men, placed in proper climates, and left to form their own language?

Upon summing up the whole particulars mentioned above, would one hesitate a moment to adopt the following opinion, were there no counterbalancing evidence, viz. "That God created many pairs of the human race, differing from each other both externally and internally; that he fitted these pairs for different climates, and placed each pair in its proper climate; that the peculiarities of the original pairs were preserved entire in their descendents;

“descendents; who, having no assistance but their natural talents, were left to gather knowledge from experience, and in particular were left (each tribe) to form a language for itself; that signs were sufficient for the original pairs, without any language but what nature suggests; and that a language was formed gradually, as a tribe increased in numbers, and in different occupations, to make speech necessary?” But this opinion, however plausible, we are not permitted to adopt; being taught a different lesson by revelation, viz. That God created but a single pair of the human species. Tho’ we cannot doubt of the authority of Moses, yet his account of the creation of man is not a little puzzling, as it seems to contradict every one of the facts mentioned above. According to that account, different races of men were not formed, nor were men formed originally for different climates. All men must have spoken the same language, viz. that of our first parents. And what of all seems the most contradictory to that account, is the savage state: Adam, as Moses informs us, was endued by his Maker with an eminent degree of knowledge; and he certainly was an excellent preceptor to his children and their progeny, among whom he lived many generations. Whence then the degeneracy of all men unto the savage state? To account for that dismal catastrophe, mankind must have suffered some terrible convulsion.

That terrible convulsion is revealed to us in the history of the tower of Babel, contained in the 11th chapter of Genesis, which is, “That for many centuries after the deluge, the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech; that they united to build a city on a plain in the land of Shinar, with a tower whose top might reach unto heaven; that the Lord beholding the people to be one, and to have all one language, and that nothing would be restrained from them which they imagined to do, confounded their language, that they might not understand one another;” and

“and scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth.” Here light breaks forth in the midst of darkness. By confounding the language of men, and scattering them abroad upon the face of all the earth, they were rendered savages. And to harden them for their new habitations, it was necessary that they should be divided into different kinds, fitted for different climates. Without an immediate change of constitution, the builders of Babel could not possibly have subsisted in the burning region of Guinea, nor in the frozen region of Lapland; houses not being prepared, nor any other convenience to protect them against a destructive climate. Against this history it has indeed been urged, “that the circumstances mentioned evince it to be purely an allegory; that men never were so frantic as to think of building a tower whose top might reach to heaven; and that it is grossly absurd, taking the matter literally, that the Almighty was afraid of men, and reduced to the necessity of saving himself by a miracle.” But that this is a real history, must necessarily be admitted, as the confusion of Babel is the only known fact that can reconcile sacred and profane history.

And this leads us to consider the diversity of languages *. If the

* As the social state is essential to man, and speech to the social state, the wisdom of providence in fitting men for acquiring that necessary art, deserves more attention than is commonly bestowed on it. The Orang Outang has the external organs of speech in perfection; and many are puzzled to account why it never speaks. But the external organs of speech make but a small part of the necessary apparatus. The faculty of imitating sounds is an essential part; and wonderful would that faculty appear, were it not rendered familiar by practice: a child of two or three years, is able, by nature alone without the least instruction, to adapt its organs of speech to every articulate sound; and a child of four or five years can pitch its windpipe so as to emit a sound of any elevation, which enables it with an ear to imitate the songs it hears. But above all the other parts, sense and understanding

the common language of men had not been confounded upon their attempting the tower of Babel, I affirm, that there never could have been but one language. Antiquaries constantly suppose a migrating spirit in the original inhabitants of this earth; not only without evidence, but contrary to all probability. Men never desert their connections nor their country without necessity: fear of enemies and of wild beasts, as well as the attraction of society, are more than sufficient to restrain them from wandering; not to mention that savages are peculiarly fond of their natal soil *. The first migrations were probably occasioned by factions and

understanding are essential to speech. A parrot can pronounce articulate sounds, and it has frequently an inclination to speak; but, for want of understanding, none of the kind can form a single sentence. Has an Orang Outang understanding to form a mental proposition? has he a faculty to express that proposition in sounds? and supposing him able to express what he sees and hears, what would he make of the connective and disjunctive particles?

* With respect to the supposed migrating spirit, even Bochart must yield to Kempter in boldness of conjecture. After proving, from difference of language, and from other circumstances, that Japan was not peopled by the Chinese, Kempter without the least hesitation settles a colony there of those who attempted the tower of Babel. Nay he traces most minutely their road to Japan; and concludes, that they must have travelled with great expedition, because their language has no tincture of any other. He did not think it necessary to explain, what temptation they had to wander so far from home; nor why they settled in an island, not preferable either in soil or climate to many countries they must have traversed.

An ingenious French writer observes, that plausible reasons would lead one to conjecture, that men were more early polished in islands than in continents; as people, crowded together, soon find the necessity of laws to restrain them from mischief. And yet, says he, the manners of islanders and their laws are commonly the latest formed. A very simple reflection would have unfolded the mystery.

and civil wars; the next by commerce. Greece affords instances of the former, Phœnicia of the latter. Unless upon such occasions, members of a family or of a tribe will never retire farther from their fellows than is necessary for food; and by retiring gradually, they lose neither their connections nor their manners, far less their language, which is in constant exercise. As far back as history carries us, tribes without number are discovered, each having a language peculiar to itself. Strabo (a) reports, that the Albanians were divided into several tribes, differing in external appearance and in language. Cæsar found in Gaul several such tribes; and Tacitus records the names of many tribes in Germany. There are a multitude of American tribes that to this day continue distinct from each other, and have each a different language. The mother-tongues at present, tho' numerous, bear no proportion to what formerly existed. We find original tribes gradually enlarging; by conquest frequently, and more frequently by the union of weak tribes for mutual defence. Such events promote one language instead of many. The Celtic tongue, once extensive, is at present confined to the highlands of Scotland, to Wales, to Britany, and to a part of Ireland. In a few centuries, it will share the fate of many other original tongues: it will be totally forgotten.

If men had not been scattered every where upon the confusion of Babel, another particular must have occurred, differing not less from what has really happened than that now mentioned.

Many many centuries did men exist without thinking of navigation. That art was not invented till men, straitened in their quarters upon the continent, thought of occupying adjacent islands.

(a) Book 2.

As paradise is conjectured to have been situated in the heart of Asia, the surrounding regions, for the reason above given, must have been first peopled; and the civilization and improvements of the mother-country were undoubtedly carried along to every new settlement. In particular, the colonies planted in America, the South-sea islands, and the *Terra Australis incognita*, must have been highly polished; because, being at the greatest distance, they probably were the latest. And yet these and other remote people, the Mexicans and Peruvians excepted, remain to this day in the original savage state of hunting and fishing.

Thus, had not men wildly attempted to build a tower whose top might reach to heaven, all men would not only have spoken the same language, but would have made the same progress toward maturity of knowledge and civilization. That deplorable event reversed all nature: by scattering men over the face of all the earth, it deprived them of society, and rendered them savages. From that state of degeneracy, they have been emerging gradually. Some nations, stimulated by their own nature, or by their climate, have made a rapid progress; some have proceeded more slowly; and some continue savages. To trace out that progress toward maturity in different nations, is the subject of the present undertaking.

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SKETCH

S K E T C H II.

Progress of Men with respect to Food and Population.

IN temperate climates, the original food of men was fruits that grow without culture, and the flesh of land-animals. As such animals become shy when often hunted, there is a contrivance of nature, no less simple than effectual, which engages men to bear with cheerfulness the fatigues of hunting, and the uncertainty of capture; and that is, an appetite for hunting. Hunger alone is not sufficient: savages, who act by sense not by foresight, move not when the stomach is full; and it would be too late when the stomach is empty, to form a hunting-party. As this appetite belongs to every savage who depends on hunting for procuring food; it is one instance, among many, of providential wisdom, in adapting the internal constitution of man to his external circumstances. The appetite for hunting, tho' among us little necessary for food, is, to this day, visible in our young men, high and low, rich and poor. Natural propensities may be rendered faint or obscure, but never are totally eradicated.

It is probable, that fish was not early the food of man. Water is not our element; and savages probably did not attempt to draw any food from the sea or from rivers, till land-animals turned scarce. Plutarch in his *Symposiacs* observes, that the Syrians and Greeks of old abstained from fish. Menelaus (a) complains,

(a) Book 4. of the *Odyssy*.

that

that his companions had been reduced by hunger to that food; and tho' the Grecian camp, at the siege of Troy, was on the sea-shore, there is not in Homer a single hint of their feeding on fish. We learn from Dion Cassius, that the Caledonians did not eat fish, tho' they had them in plenty; which is confirmed by Adamannus, a Scotch historian, in his life of St Columba. The ancient Caledonians depended almost entirely on deer for food, because in a cold country the fruits that grow spontaneously afford very little nourishment; and domestic animals, which at present so much abound, were not early known in the north of Britain.

Antiquaries talk of acorns, nuts, and other shell-fruits, as the only vegetable food that men had originally; overlooking wheat, rice, barley, &c. which must, from the creation, have grown spontaneously: for surely, when agriculture first commenced, seeds of these plants were not procured by a miracle *. The Lapland-

* Writers upon natural history have been solicitous to discover the original climate of these plants; but without much success. The original climate of plants left to nature, cannot be a secret: but in countries well peopled, the plants mentioned are not left to nature; the seeds are carefully gathered, and stored up for food. As this practice could not fail to make these seeds scarce, agriculture was early thought of, which, by introducing plants into new soils and new climates, has rendered the original climate obscure. If we can trace that climate, it must be in regions destitute of inhabitants, or but thinly peopled. The Sioux, a very small tribe in North-America, possess a vast country, where oats grow spontaneously in meadows and on the sides of rivers, which make part of their food, without necessity of agriculture. While the French possessed Port Dauphin in the island of Madagascar, they raised excellent wheat. That station was deserted many years ago; and wheat to this day grows naturally among the grass in great vigour. In the country about Mount Tabor in Palestine, barley and oats grow spontaneously. In the kingdom of Siam, there are many spots where rice grows spontaneously, year after year, without any culture. Diodorus Siculus is our authority for saying, that in the territory of Leontium, and in other parts of Sicily, wheat grew wild without any culture. And it does so to this day about Mount

Etna.

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ers, possessing a country where corn will not grow, make bread of the inner bark of trees; and Linneus reports, that swine there fatten on that food, as well as in Sweden upon corn.

Plenty of food procured by hunting and fishing, promotes population: but as consumption of food increases with population, wild animals, sorely persecuted, become not only more rare but more shy. Men, thus pinched for food, are excited to try other means for supplying their wants. A fawn, a kid, or a lamb, taken alive, and tamed for amusement, suggested probably flocks and herds, and introduced the shepherd-state. Changes are not perfected but by slow degrees: hunting and fishing continue for a long time favourite occupations; and the few animals that are domesticated, serve as a common stock to be distributed among individuals, according to their wants. But as the idle and indolent, tho' the least deserving, are thus the greatest consumers of the common stock, an improvement was suggested, that every family should rear a stock for themselves. Men by that politic regulation being taught to rely on their own industry, display'd the hoarding-principle, which multiplied flocks and herds exceedingly. And thus the shepherd-state was perfected, plenty of food being supplied at home, without ranging the woods or the waters. Hunting and fishing being no longer necessary for food, became an amusement merely, and a gratification of the original appetite for hunting.

The finger of God may be clearly traced in the provision made of animal food for man. Gramenivorous animals, perhaps all, make palatable and wholesome food. I except not the horse: some nations feed on it; others do not, because it is more profitable by its labour. Carnivorous animals, generally speaking, make not wholesome food nor palatable. The first-mentioned animals are gentle, and easily domesticated: the latter are fierce, not easily tamed, and uncertain in temper when tamed. Grass grows every
where

where in temperate regions; and men beside can multiply animal food without end, by training domestic animals to live on turnip, carrot, potato, and other roots, &c. Herodotus adds the following admirable reflection: "We may rationally conjecture, that divine providence has rendered extremely prolific such creatures as are naturally fearful, and serve for food; lest they should be destroyed by constant consumption: whereas the rapacious and cruel are almost barren. The hare, which is the prey of beasts, birds, and men, is a great breeder: a lioness, on the contrary, the strongest and fiercest of beasts, brings forth but once."

The shepherd-state is friendly to population. Men by plenty of food multiply apace; and in process of time neighbouring tribes, straitened in their pasture, go to war for extension of territory, or migrate to grounds not yet occupied. Necessity, the mother of invention, suggested agriculture. When corn growing spontaneously was rendered scarce by consumption, it was an obvious thought to propagate it by art: nature was the guide, which carries on its work of propagation with seeds, that drop from plants in their maturity, and spring up new plants. As the land was possessed in common, the seed of course was sown in common, and stored in a common repository to be parcelled out among individuals in want, as the common stock of animals had been formerly. We have for our authority Diodorus Siculus, that the Celtiberians divided their land annually among individuals, to be laboured for the use of the public, and that the product was stored up, and distributed from time to time among the necessitous. A lasting division of the land among the members of the state, securing to each man the product of his own skill and labour, was a great spur to industry, and multiplied food exceedingly. Population made a rapid progress, and government became

came an art; for agriculture and commerce cannot flourish without salutary laws.

Natural fruits ripen to greater perfection in a temperate than in a cold climate, and cultivation is more easy; which circumstances make it highly probably, that agriculture became first an art in temperate climes. The culture of corn was so early known in Greece, as to make a branch of its fabulous history: in Egypt it must have been coeval with the inhabitants; for while the Nile overflows, they cannot subsist without corn (a). Nor without corn could the ancient monarchies of Assyria and Babylon have been so populous and powerful as they are said to have been. In the northern parts of Europe, wheat, barley, pease, and perhaps oats, are foreign plants: as the climate is not friendly to corn, agriculture must have crept northward by slow degrees; and even at present, it requires no small portion both of skill and industry to bring corn to maturity in such a climate. Hence it may be inferred with certainty, that the shepherd-state continued longer in northern climates than in those nearer the sun. Cold countries however are friendly to population; and the northern people, multiplying beyond the food that can be supplied by flocks and herds, were compelled to throw off many swarms in search of new habitations. Their frequent migrations were for many years a dreadful scourge to neighbouring kingdoms. People, amazed at the multitude of the invaders, judged, that the countries from whence they issued must have been exceedingly populous; and hence the North was termed *officina gentium*; but scarcity of food in the shepherd-state was the true cause. The north of Europe, in all probability, is as well peopled at present as ever it was, tho' its migrations have ceased, corn and commerce having put an end

(a) Historical Law-tracts, tract 1.

to that pestilence *. Denmark at present feeds 2,000,000 of inhabitants, Sweden, according to a list made up *anno* 1760, 2,383,113; and these countries must be much more populous than of old, when over-run with immense woods, and agriculture utterly unknown. Had the Danes and Norwegians been acquainted with agriculture in the ninth and tenth centuries, when they poured out multitudes upon their neighbours, they would not have ventured their lives in frail vessels upon a tempestuous ocean, in order to distress nations who were not their enemies. But hunger is a cogent motive; and hunger gave to these pirates superiority in arms above every nation that enjoyed plenty at home. Luckily such depredations must have intervals; for as they necessarily occasion great havock even among the victors, the remainder finding sufficiency of food at home, rest there till an increasing population force them again to action †. Agriculture,

* *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus.* Montesquieu accounts as follows for the great swarms of Barbarians that overwhelmed the Roman empire. "Ces ef-
faims de Barbares qui sortirent autrefois du nord, ne paroissent plus aujour-
d'hui. Les violences des Romains avoient fait retirer les peuple du midi au
nord : tandis que la force qui les contenoit subsista, ils y restèrent ; quand elle fut
affoiblie, ils se repandirent de toutes parts." *Grandeur des Romains*, c. 16.—
[In English thus : "The swarms of Barbarians who poured formerly from the
north, appear no more. The violence of the Roman arms had driven those
nations from the south towards the north : there they remained during the
subsistence of that force which retained them ; but that being once weakened,
they spread abroad to every quarter."] — It has quite escaped him, that men
cannot, like water, be dam'd up without being fed.

† Joannes Magnus, in the 8th book of his history of the Goths, mentions, that a third part of the Swedes, being compelled by famine to leave their native country, founded the kingdom of the Longobards in Italy.

which fixes people to a spot, is an invincible obstacle to migration; and happy it is for Europe, that agriculture, now universally diffused, has put an end for ever to such migrations: the northern people find occupation and sustenance at home, without infesting others. Agriculture is a great blessing: it not only affords us food in plenty, but secures the fruits of our industry from hungry and rapacious invaders *.

That the progress above traced must have proceeded from some vigorous impulse will be admitted, considering the prevailing influence of custom: once hunters, men will always be hunters, till they be forc'd out of that state by some overpowering cause. Hunger, the cause here assigned, is of all the most overpowering; and the same cause, overcoming indolence and idleness, has introduced manufactures, commerce, and variety of arts †.

The

* Mahomet Bey, King of Tunis, was dethroned by his subjects; but having the reputation of the philosopher's stone, he was restored by the Dey of Algiers, upon promising to communicate the secret to him. Mahomet sent a plough with great pomp and ceremony, intimating, that agriculture is the strength of a kingdom, and that the only philosopher's stone is a good crop, which may be easily converted into gold.

† Buffon discoursing of America, "Is it not singular," says he, "that in a world composed almost wholly of savages, there never should have been any society or commerce between them and the animals about them? There was not a domestic animal in America when discovered by Columbus, except among the polished people of Mexico and Peru. Is not this a proof, that man, in his savage state, is but a sort of brute animal, having no faculties but to provide for his subsistence, by attacking the weak, and avoiding the strong; and having no idea of his superiority over other animals, which he never once thinks of bringing under subjection? This is the more surprising, as most of the American animals are by nature docile and timid." Our author, without being sensible of it, lays

The progress here delineated has, in all temperate climates of the old world, been precisely uniform; but it has been different in the extremes of cold and hot climates. In very cold regions, which produce little vegetable food for man, the hunter-state was originally essential. In temperate regions, as observed above, men subsisted partly on vegetable food, which is more and more plentiful in proportion to the heat of the climate. In the torrid zone, natural fruits are produced in such plenty and perfection, as to be more than sufficient for a moderate population: and in case of extraordinary population, the transition to husbandry is easy. There are found accordingly in every populous country of the torrid zone, crops of rice, maize, roots, and other vegetable food, raised by the hand of man. As hunting becomes thus less and less necessary in the progress from cold to hot countries, the appetite for hunting keeps pace with that progress: it is vigorous in very cold countries, where men depend on hunting for food: it is less vigorous in temperate countries, where they are partly fed with natural fruits; and there is scarce any vestige of it in hot countries, where vegetables are the food of men, and where meat is an article of luxury. The original occupation of savages, both in cold and temperate climates, is hunting, altogether essential in the former as the only means of procuring food. The next step of the progress in both, is the occupation of a shepherd; and there the progress stops short in very cold regions, unfit for corn. Lap-

lays a foundation for a satisfactory answer to these questions, by what he adds, viz. That in the whole compass of America, when discovered by the Spaniards, there were not half the number of people that are in Europe; and that such scarcity of men favoured greatly the propagation of wild animals, which had few enemies and much food. Was it not obvious to conclude from these premises, that while men, who by nature are fond of hunting, have game in plenty, they never think of turning shepherds?

land in particular produces no vegetable but moss, which is the food of no animal but of the rein-deer. This circumstance solely is what renders Lapland habitable by men. Without rein-deer, the sea-coasts within the reach of fish would admit some inhabitants; but the inland parts would be a desert. As the swiftness of that animal makes it not an easy prey, the taming it for food must have been early attempted; and its natural docility made the attempt succeed. It yields to no other animal in usefulness: it is equal to a horse for draught: its flesh is excellent food; and the female gives milk more nourishing than that of a cow: its fur is fine; and the leather made of its skin, is both soft and durable. In Tartary, tho' a great part of it lies in a temperate zone, there is little corn. As far back as tradition reaches, the Tartars have had flocks and herds; and yet, in a great measure, they not only continue hunters, but retain the ferocity of that state: they are not fond of being shepherds, and have not any knowledge of husbandry. This in appearance is singular; but nothing happens without a cause. Tartary is one continued mountain from west to east, rising high above the countries to the south; and declining gradually to the northern ocean, without a single hill to intercept the bitter blasts of the north. A few spots excepted, a tree above the size of a shrub cannot live in it *. In Europe, the mountains of Norway and Lapland are a comfortable screen against the north wind: whence it is, that the ground about Stockholm (a) pro-

* May not a similar situation in some parts of North America, be partly the occasion of the cold that is felt there, beyond what Europe feels in the same latitude?

(a) Latitude 59.

duces both trees and corn; and even about Abo (a) the climate is tolerable. Great Tartary abounds with pasture; but extreme cold renders it very little capable of corn. Thro' all Chinese Tartary, even as low as the 43d degree of latitude, the frost continues seven or eight months every year; and that country, tho' in the latitude of France, is as cold as Iceland; the causes of which are its nitrous soil, and its height without any shelter from the west wind that has passed through an immense continent extremely cold. A certain place near the source of the river Kavamhuran, and within 80 leagues of the great wall, was found by Father Verbeist to be 3000 geometrical paces above the level of the sea. Thus the Tartars, like the Laplanders, are chained to the shepherd-state, and can never advance to be husbandmen. If population among them ever be so great as to require more food than the shepherd-state can supply, migration will be their only resource.

In every step of the progress, the torrid zone differs. We have no evidence that either the hunter or shepherd state were ever known there: the inhabitants at present subsist upon vegetable food; and probably did so from the beginning. In Manila, one of the Philippine islands, the trees bud, blossom, and bear fruit, all the year round. The natives, driven from the sea-coast to the inland parts, have no particular place of abode, but live under the shelter of trees, which afford them food as well as habitation; and when the fruit is consumed in one spot, they remove to another. The orange, lemon, and other European trees, bear fruit twice a-year: a sprig planted bears fruit within the year. And this picture of Manila answers to numberless places in the torrid zone. The Marian or Ladrone islands are extremely populous; and yet

(a) Latitude 63.

the inhabitants live entirely on fish, fruits, and roots. The inhabitants of the new Philippine islands live on cocoa-nuts, salads, roots, and fish. The inland negroes make but one meal a-day, which is in the evening. Their diet is plain, consisting mostly of rice, fruits, and roots. The island of Otaheite is healthy, the people tall and well made; and by temperance, vegetables and fish being their chief nourishment, they live to a good old age, with scarce any ailment. There is no such thing known among them as rotten teeth: the very smell of wine or spirits is disagreeable; and they never deal in tobacco nor spices. In many places Indian corn is the chief nourishment, which every man plants for himself. The inhabitants of Biledulgerid and the desert of Zaara have but two meals a-day, one in the morning, and one in the evening. Being temperate, and strangers to the diseases of luxury and idleness, they generally live to a great age. Sixty with them is the prime of life, as thirty is in Europe. An inhabitant of Madagascar will travel two or three days without any food but a sugar cane. There is indeed little appetite for animal food in hot climates; tho' beef and fowl have in small quantities been introduced to the tables of the great, as articles of luxury. In America are observable some variations from the progress; but these are reserved for a separate sketch (a).

With respect to population in particular, that plenty of food is its chief cause, may be illustrated by the following calculation. The southern provinces of China produce two crops of rice in a year, sometimes three; and an acre well cultivated gives food to ten mouths. The peasants go almost naked; and the better sort wear but a single garment made of cotton, of which as much is produced upon an acre as may cloath four or five hundred persons. Hence the extreme populousness of China and other rice coun-

(a) Book 2. sketch 12.

tries. The Cassave root, which serves the Americans for bread, is produced in such plenty, that an acre of it will feed more persons than six acres of wheat. It is not then for want of food that America is ill peopled. That Negroland is well peopled is past doubt, considering the great annual draughts from that country to America, without any apparent diminution of numbers. Instances are not extremely rare of 200 children born to one man by his different wives. Food must be extremely plentiful to enable a man to maintain so many children. It would require extraordinary skill and labour to make Europe so populous: an acre and an half of wheat is barely sufficient to maintain a single family of peasants; and their cloathing requires many more acres. A country of savages, who live chiefly by hunting, must be very thin of inhabitants; as 10,000 or double that number of acres are no more than sufficient for maintaining a single family. If the multiplication of animals depended chiefly on fecundity, wolves would be more numerous than sheep: a great proportion of the latter are deprived of the procreating power, and many more of them are killed than of the former: yet we see every where large flocks of sheep, seldom a wolf; for what reason, other than that the former have plenty of food, the latter very little? A wolf resembles a savage who lives by hunting, and consumes the game of five or six hundred acres.

Waving the question, Whether the human race be the offspring of one pair, or of many, it appears the intention of Providence, that the earth should be peopled, and population be kept up by the ordinary means of procreation. By these means a tribe soon becomes too populous for the primitive state of hunting and fishing: it may even become too populous for the shepherd-state; but probably a nation can scarce be too populous for husbandry. In the two former states, food must decrease in quantity as consumers increase in number: but agriculture has the signal property
of

of producing, by industry, food in proportion to the number of consumers. In fact the greatest quantities of corn and of cattle are commonly produced in the most populous districts, where each family has its proportion of land. An ancient Roman, sober and industrious, made a shift to maintain his family on the product of a few acres *.

The bounty given in Britain for exporting corn is friendly to population in two respects; first, because husbandry requires many hands; and, next, because the bounty lowers the price of corn at home. To give a bounty for exporting cattle would obstruct population; because pasture requires few hands, and exportation would raise the price of cattle at home. From the single port of Cork, an. 1735, were exported 107,161 barrels of beef, 7379 barrels of pork, 13,461 casks of butter, and 83,727 firkins of the same commodity. Thus a large portion of Ireland is set apart for feeding other nations. What addition of strength would it not be to Britain, if that large quantity of food were consumed at home by useful manufacturers!

Lapland is but thinly inhabited even for the shepherd state, the country being capable of maintaining a greater number of rein-deer, and consequently a greater number of the human species than are found in it. At the same time, the Laplanders are well acquainted with private property: every family has tame rein-deer of their own, to the extent sometimes of four or five hundred. They indeed seem to have more rein-deer than there is a demand for. Why then is Lapland so thinly peopled? Either

* Scotland must have been very ill peopled in the days of its fifth James, when at one hunting in the high country of Roxburghshire, that Prince killed three hundred and sixty red-deer; and in Athol, at another time, six hundred; besides roes, wolves, foxes, and wild cats.

it must have been but lately planted, or the inhabitants are not prolific. I incline to the latter, upon the authority of Scheffer. Tartary is also but thinly peopled; and as I find not that the Tartars are less prolific than their neighbours, it is probable that Tartary, being the most barren country in Asia, has not been early planted. At the same time population has been much retarded by the restless and roaming spirit of that people: it is true, they have been forced into the shepherd-state by want of food; but so averse are they to the sedentary life of a shepherd, that they trust their cattle to slaves, and persevere in their favourite occupation of hunting. This disposition has been a dreadful pest to the human species, the Tartars having made more extensive conquests, and destroy'd more men, than any other nation known in history: more cruel than tigers, they seemed to have no delight but in blood and massacre, without any regard either to sex or age *. Luckily for the human species, rich spoils dazzled their eyes, and roused an appetite for wealth. Avarice is sometimes productive of good: it moved these monsters to sell the conquered people for slaves, which preserved the lives of millions. Conquests, however successful, cannot go on for ever; they are not accomplished without great loss of men; and the conquests of the Tartars depopulated their country.

But as some centuries have elapsed without any considerable eruption of that fiery people, their numbers must at present be considerable by the ordinary progress of population. Have we not reason to dread new eruptions, like what formerly happened? Our foreknowledge of future events extends not far; but so far as it

* When the Tartars under Genhizkan conquered China, it was seriously deliberated, whether they should not kill all the inhabitants, and convert that vast country into pasture-fields for their cattle.

extends, we have nothing to fear from that quarter. The Tartars subdued a great part of the world by ferocity and undaunted courage, supported by liberty and independence. They acknowledged Genhizkan as their leader in war; but were as far from being slaves, as the Franks were when they conquered Gaul. Tamerlane again enjoyed but a substituted power, and never had the audacity to assume the title of Chan or Emperor. But the Tartars have submitted to the same yoke of despotism that their ferocity imposed upon others; and being now governed by a number of petty tyrants, their courage is broken by slavery, and they are no longer formidable to the rest of mankind*.

Depopulation enters into the present sketch as well as population. The latter follows not with greater certainty from equality of property, than the former from inequality. In every great state, where the people, by prosperity and opulence, are sunk into voluptuousness, we hear daily complaints of depopulation. Cookery depopulates like a pestilence; because when it becomes an art, it brings within the compass of one stomach what is sufficient for ten in days of temperance; and is so far worse than a pestilence, that the people never recruit again. The inhabitants of France devour at present more food than the same number did

* "Gallos in bellis floruisse accepimus," says Tacitus in his life of Agricola; "mox segnitie cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate." — [*In English thus*: "We have heard that the Gauls formerly made a figure in war; but becoming a prey to indolence, the consequence of peace, they lost at once their valour and their liberty."] — Spain, which defended itself with great bravery against the Romans, became an easy prey to the Vandals in the fifth century. When attacked by the Romans, it was divided into many free states: when attacked by the Vandals, it was enervated by slavery under Roman despotism.

formerly.

formerly. The like is observable in Britain, and in every country where luxury abounds. Remedies are proposed and put in practice, celibacy disgraced, marriage encouraged, and rewards given for a numerous offspring. All in vain! The only effectual remedies are to encourage husbandry, and to repress luxury. Olivares hoped to repeople Spain by encouraging matrimony. Abderam, a Mahometan king of Cordova, was a better politician. By encouraging industry, and procuring plenty of food, he repopled his kingdom in less than thirty years*.

Luxury is a deadly enemy to population, not only by intercepting food from the industrious, but by weakening the power of procreation. Indolence accompanies voluptuousness, or rather is a branch of it: women of rank seldom move, but in changing place employ others to move them; and a woman enervated by indolence and intemperance, is ill qualified for the severe labour of child-bearing. Hence it is, that people of rank, where luxury prevails, are not prolific. This infirmity not only prevents population, but increases luxury, by accumulating wealth among a few blood-relations. A barren woman among the labouring poor, is a wonder. Could women of rank be persuaded to make a trial, they would find more self-enjoyment in temperance and exercise, than in the most refined luxury; and would have no cause to envy others the blessing of a numerous and healthy offspring.

Luxury is not a greater enemy to population by enervating men and women, than despotism is by reducing them to slavery, and

* A foundling hospital is a greater enemy to population than liberty to expose infants, which is permitted to parents in China, and in some other countries. Both of them indeed encourage matrimony: but in such hospitals, thousands perish yearly beyond the ordinary proportion; whereas few infants perish by the liberty of exposing them, parental affection generally prevailing over the distress of poverty. And, upon the whole, population gains more by that liberty than it loses.

destroying industry. Despotism is a greater pest to the human species than an Egyptian plague; for by rendering men miserable, it weakens both the appetite for procreation and the power. Free states, on the contrary, are always populous: a man who is happy longs for children to make them also happy; and industry enables him to accomplish his purpose. This observation is verified from the history of Greece, and of the Lesser Asia: the inhabitants anciently were free and extremely numerous: the present inhabitants, reduced to slavery, make a very poor figure with respect to numbers. A pestilence destroys those only who exist, and the loss is soon repaired; but despotism, as above observed, strikes at the very root of population.

An overflowing quantity of money in circulation, is another cause of depopulation. In a nation that grows rich by commerce, the price of labour increases with the quantity of circulating money, which of course raises the price of manufactures; and manufacturers who cannot find a vent for their high-rated goods in foreign markets, must give over business, and commence beggars, or retire to another country where they may have a prospect of success. But luckily, there is a remedy in that case to prevent depopulation: land is cultivated to greater perfection by the spade than by the plough; and the more plentiful crops produced by the spade are more than sufficient to defray the additional expence of cultivation. This is a resource for employing those who cannot make bread as manufacturers; and deserves well the attention of the legislature. The advantage of the spade is conspicuous with respect to war; it provides a multitude of robust men for recruiting our armies, the want of whom may be supplied by the plough, till they return in peace to their former occupation.

S K E T C H

S K E T C H III.

Progress of Men with respect to PROPERTY.

AMong the senses inherent in the nature of man, the sense of property is eminent. By this sense wild animals caught by labour or art, are perceived to belong to the hunter or fisher; they become his *property*. This sense is the foundation of *meum et tuum*, a distinction of which no human being is ignorant. In the shepherd-state, there is the same perception of property with respect to wild animals tamed for use, and also with respect to their progeny. It takes place also with respect to a field separated from the common, and cultivated by a man for bread to himself and family (a).

The sense of property is slower in its growth toward maturity than the external senses, which are perfect even in childhood; but ripens faster than the sense of congruity, of symmetry, of dignity, of grace, and other delicate senses, which scarce make any figure till we become men. Children discover a sense of property in distinguishing their own chair, and their own spoon. In them however it is faint and obscure, requiring time to bring it to perfection. The gradual progress of that sense, from its infancy among savages to its maturity among polished nations, is one of the most entertaining articles that belong to the present undertaking. But as that article makes a part of Historical

(a) See Principles of Morality and Natural Religion, p. 77. edit. 2.

law-tracts (a), nothing remains for me but a few gleanings.

Man is by nature a hoarding animal, having an appetite for storing up things of use; and the sense of property is bestow'd on men, for securing to them what they thus store up. Hence it appears, that things provided by Providence for our sustenance and accommodation, were not intended to be possessed in common; and probably in the earliest ages every man separately hunted for himself and his family. But chance prevails in that occupation; and it may frequently happen, that while some get more than enough, others must go supperless to bed. Sensible of that inconvenience, it crept into practice, for hunting and fishing to be carried on in common *. We find accordingly the practice of hunting and fishing in common, even among gross savages. Those of New Holland, above mentioned, live upon small fish dug out of the sand when the sea retires. Sometimes they get plenty,

* Inequalities of chance, which are great in a few instances, vanish almost entirely when the operation is frequently reiterated during a course of time. Did every man's subsistence depend on the fruits of his own field, many would die of hunger, while others wallowed in plenty. Barter and commerce among the inhabitants of a district, lessen the hazard of famine: the commerce of corn through a large kingdom, such as France or Britain, lessens it still more: extend that commerce through Europe, through the world, and there will remain scarce a vestige of the inequalities of chance: the crop of corn may fail in one province, or in one kingdom; but that it should fail universally is beyond the varieties of chance. The same observation holds in every other matter of chance: one's gain or loss at game for a night, for a week, may be considerable; but carry on the game for a year, and so little of chance remains, that it is almost the same whether one play for a guinea or for twenty. Hence a skilful insurer never ventures much upon one bottom; but multiplies his bargains as much as possible: the more bargains he is engaged in, the greater is the probability of success.

(a) Tract 3.

sometimes very little; but whether successful or unsuccessful, all is broiled and eat in common. After eating they go to rest: they return to their fishing next ebb of the tide, whether it be day or night, foul or fair; for go they must, or starve. In small tribes, where patriotism is vigorous, or in a country thinly peopled in proportion to its fertility, the living in common is extremely comfortable: but in a large state where selfishness prevails, or in any state where great population requires extraordinary culture, the best method is to allow every man to shift for himself and his family: men wish to labour for themselves; and they labour more ardently for themselves than for the public. Private property became more and more sacred in the progress of arts and manufactures: to allow an artist of superior talents no profit above others, would be a sad discouragement to industry, and be scarce consistent with common justice.

The sense of property is not confined to the human species. The beavers perceive the timber they store up for food, to be their property; and the bees seem to have the same perception with respect to their winter's provision of honey. Sheep know when they are in a trespass, and run to their own pasture on the first glimpse of a man. Monkeys do the same when detected in robbing an orchard. Sheep and horned cattle have a sense of property with respect to their resting-place in a fold or inclosure, which every one guards against the incroachment of others. He must be a sceptic indeed who denies that perception to rooks: thieves there are among them as among men; but if a rook purloin a stick from another's nest, a council is held, much chattering ensues, and the *lex talionis* is applied, by demolishing the nest of the criminal. To man are furnished rude materials only: to convert these into food and cloathing requires industry; and if he had not a sense that the product of his labour belongs to himself, his industry would be extremely faint. In general,

it

it is pleasant to observe, that the sense of property is always given where it is useful, and never but where it is useful.

An ingenious writer, describing the inhabitants of Guiana, who continue hunters and fishers, makes an eloquent harangue upon the happiness they enjoy, in having few wants and desires, and in having very little notion of private property. "The manners of these Indians exhibit an amiable picture of primeval innocence and happiness. The ease with which their few wants are supplied, renders division of land unnecessary; nor does it afford any temptation to fraud or violence. That proneness to vice, which among civilized nations is esteemed a propensity of nature, has no existence in a country where every man enjoys in perfection his native freedom and independence, without hurting or being hurt by others. A perfect equality of rank, banishing all distinctions but of age and personal merit, promotes freedom in conversation, and firmness in action; and suggests no desires but what may be gratified with innocence. Envy and discontent cannot subsist with perfect equality; we scarce even hear of a discontented lover, as there is no difference of rank and fortune, the common obstacles that prevent fruition. Those who have been unhappily accustomed to the refinements of luxury, will scarce be able to conceive, that an Indian, with no covering but what modesty requires, with no shelter that deserves the name of a house, and with no food but of the coarsest kind painfully procured by hunting, can feel any happiness: and yet to judge from external appearance, the happiness of these people may be envied by the wealthy of the most refined nations; and justly; because their ignorance of extravagant desires, and endless pursuits that torment the great world, excludes every wish beyond the present. In a word, the inhabitants of Guiana are an example of what Socrates justly observes, that those who want the least, approach the nearest to the gods, who want
" nothing."

"nothing." It must be acknowledged, that the innocence of savages, here painted in fine colours, is in every respect more amiable than the luxury of opulent cities, where sensuality and selfishness are ruling passions. But is our author unacquainted with a middle state between the two extremes, more suitable than either to the dignity of human nature? The appetite for property is not bestow'd upon us in vain: it has given birth to many useful arts, and to almost all the fine arts; it is still more useful in furnishing opportunity for gratifying the most dignified natural affections; for without private property, what place would there be for benevolence or charity (a)? Without private property, there would be no industry; and without industry, men would remain savages for ever.

The appetite for property, in its nature a great blessing, degenerates, I acknowledge, into a great curse when it transgresses the bounds of moderation. Before money was introduced, the appetite seldom was immoderate, because plain necessities were its only objects. But money is a species of property, of such extensive use as greatly to inflame the appetite. Money prompts men to be industrious; and the beautiful productions of industry and art, rousing the imagination, excite a violent desire of fine houses, ornamented gardens, and of every thing gay and splendid. Habitual wants multiply: luxury and sensuality gain ground: the appetite for property becomes headstrong, and must be gratified even at the expence of justice and honour. Examples are without number of this progress; and yet the following history deserves to be kept in memory, as a striking and lamentable illustration. Hispaniola was that part of America which Columbus first discovered *anno* 1497. He landed upon the territory of

(a) Historical law-tracts, tract 3.

Guacanaric, one of the principal Cacics of the island. That prince, who had nothing barbarous in his manners, received his guests with cordiality; and encouraged his people to vie with one another in obliging them. To gratify the Spanish appetite for gold, they parted freely with their richest ornaments; and in return, were satisfied with glass beads, and such baubles. The Admiral's ship having been tossed against the rocks in a hurricane, Guacanaric was not wanting to his friend on that occasion: he convened a number of men to assist in unloading the ship; and attended himself till the cargo was safely lodged in a magazine. The Admiral having occasion to return to Spain, left a part of his crew behind; who, forgetting the lessons of moderation he had taught them, turned licentious. The remonstrances of Guacanaric were in vain: they seized upon the gold and wives of the Indians; and in general treated them with great cruelty. Such enormities did not long pass unresented: the rapacious Spaniards, after much bloodshed, were shut up in their fort, and reduced to extremity. Unhappily a reinforcement arrived from Spain: a long and bloody war ensued, which did not end till the islanders were wholly brought under. Of this island, about 200 leagues in length and between sixty and eighty in breadth, a Spanish historian bears witness, that the inhabitants amounted to a million when Columbus landed *. The Spaniards, relentless in their cruelty, forc'd these poor people to abandon the culture of their fields, and to retire to the woods and mountains. Hunted like wild beasts even in these retreats, they fled from mountain to mountain, till hunger and fatigue, which destroy'd more than the sword, forc'd them to deliver themselves up to their implacable conquerors.

* As little corn was at that time produced in the island, and less of animal food, there is reason to suspect, that the numbers are exaggerated. But whether a million, or a half of that number, the moral is the same.

There

There remained at that time but 60,000, who were divided among the Spaniards as slaves. Excessive fatigue in the mines, and want of even the common necessities of life, reduced them in five years to 14,000. Considering them merely as beasts of burden, they would have yielded more profit had they been treated with less inhumanity. Avarice frequently counteracts its own end: by grasping too much, it loses all. The Emperor Charles resolved to apply some effectual remedy; but being interrupted for some time by various avocations, he got intelligence that the poor Indians were totally extirpated. And they were so in reality, a handful excepted, who lay hid in the mountains, and subsisted as by a miracle in the midst of their enemies. That handful were discovered many years after by some hunters; who treated them with humanity, regretting perhaps the barbarity of their forefathers. The poor Indians, docile and submissive, embraced the Christian religion, and assumed by degrees the manners and customs of their masters. They still exist, and live by hunting and fishing.

Affection for property! Janus double-fac'd, productive of many blessings, but degenerating often to be a curse. In thy right hand, Industry, a cornucopia of plenty: in thy left, Avarice, a Pandora's box of deadly poison.

S K E T C H IV.

Origin and Progress of COMMERCE.

THE few wants of men in the first stage of society, are supplied by barter or permutation in its rudest form. In barter, the rational consideration is, what is wanted by the one, and what can be spared by the other. But savages are not always so clear-sighted: a savage who wants a knife will give for it any thing that is less useful to him at present; without considering either the present wants of the person he is dealing with, or his own future wants. An inhabitant of Guiana will for a fish-hook give more at one time, than at another he will give for a hatchet, or for a gun. Kempfer reports, that an inhabitant of Puli Timor, an island adjacent to Malacca, will, for a bit of coarse linen not worth three halfpence, give provisions worth three or four shillings. But people improve by degrees, attending to what is wanted and to what can be spared on both sides; and in that lesson, the American savages in our neighbourhood are not a little expert.

Barter or permutation, in its original form, proved miserably deficient, when men and their wants multiplied. That sort of commerce cannot be carried on at a distance; and even among neighbours, it does not always happen, that the one can spare what the other wants. Barter is somewhat enlarged by covenants: a bushel of wheat is delivered to me, upon my promising an equivalent at a future time. But what if I have nothing that
my

my neighbour may have occasion for? or what if my promise be not relied on? Thus barter, even with the aid of covenants, proves still insufficient. The numberless wants of men cannot readily be supplied without some commodity in general estimation, that will be gladly accepted in exchange for every other article of commerce. That commodity ought not to be bulky, nor be expensive in keeping, nor be consumable by time. Gold and silver are metals which possess these properties in an eminent degree. They are at the same time perfectly homogeneous in whatever country produced: two masses of pure gold or of pure silver are always equal in value, provided they be of the same weight. These metals are also divisible into small parts, convenient to be given for goods of small value.

Gold and silver, when first introduced into commerce, were probably bartered, like other commodities, by bulk merely. Rock-salt in Ethiopia, white as snow and hard as stone, is to this day bartered in that manner with other goods. It is dug out of the mountain Lafta, formed into plates of a foot long, and three inches broad and thick; and a portion is broke off equivalent in value to the thing wanted. But more nicety came to be introduced into the commerce of gold and silver: instead of being given loosely by bulk, every portion was weighed in scales: and this method of barter is practised in China, in Ethiopia, and in many other countries. Even weight was at length discovered to be an imperfect standard. Ethiopian salt may be proof against adulteration; but weight is no security against mixing gold and silver with base metals. To prevent that fraud, pieces of gold and silver are impressed with a public stamp, vouching both the purity and quantity; and such pieces are termed *coin*. This was a notable improvement in commerce; and, like other improvements, was probably at first thought the utmost stretch of human invention. It was not foreseen, that these metals wear by much handling in
the

the course of circulation; and consequently, that in time the public stamp is reduced to be a voucher of the purity only, not of the quantity. Hence proceed manifold inconveniences; for which no other remedy occurs, but to restore the former method of weighing, trusting to the stamp for the purity only. This proves an embarrassment in commerce; but it will facilitate paper-money, which is free of that embarrassment.

When gold or silver in bullion is exchanged with other commodities, such commerce passes under the common name of *barter* or *permutation*: when current coin is exchanged, such commerce is termed *buying* and *selling*; and the money exchanged is termed *the price of the goods*.

As commerce cannot be carried on to any extent without a standard for comparing goods of different kinds, and as every commercial country is possessed of such a standard, it seems difficult to say by what means the standard has been established. It is plainly not founded on nature; for the different kinds of goods have naturally no common measure by which they can be valued: two quarters of wheat can be compared with twenty; but what rule have we to compare wheat with broad cloth, or either of them with gold, or gold even with silver or copper? Several ingenious writers have endeavoured to account for the comparative value of commodities, by reducing them all to the labour employ'd in raising food; which labour is said to be a standard for measuring the value of all other labour, and consequently of all things produced by labour. "If, for example, a bushel of wheat and an ounce of silver be produced by the same quantity of labour, will they not be equal in value?" This standard is imperfect in many respects. I observe, first, that to give it a rational appearance, there is a necessity to maintain, contrary to fact, that all materials on which labour is employ'd are of equal value. It requires as much labour to make a brass candlestick as one of silver,

silver, tho' far from being of the same value. A bushel of wheat may sometimes equal in value an ounce of silver; but an ounce of gold does not always require more labour than a bushel of wheat; and yet they differ widely in value. The value of labour, it is true, enters into the value of every thing produced by it; but is far from making the whole value. If an ounce of silver were of no greater value than the labour of procuring it, that ounce would go for payment of the labour, and nothing be left to the proprietor of the mine: such a doctrine will not relish with the King of Spain; and as little with the Kings of Golconda and Portugal, proprietors of diamond mines. Secondly, The standard under review supposes every sort of labour to be of equal value, which however will not be maintained. An useful art in great request, may not be generally known: the few who are skilful may justly demand more for their labour than the common rate. An expert husbandman bestows no more labour in raising a hundred bushels of wheat, than his ignorant neighbour in raising fifty: if labour be the only standard, the two crops ought to afford the same price. Was not Raphael intitled to a higher price for one of his fine tablatures, than a dunce is for a tavern-sign, supposing the labour to have been equal? Lastly, As this standard is applicable to things only that require labour, what rule is to be followed with respect to natural fruits, and other things that require no labour?

Laying aside then this attempt to fix a standard, it occurs to me, that the value of a commodity depends chiefly, tho' not solely, on the demand. Quantity beyond the demand renders even necessities of no value; of which water is an instance. It may be held accordingly as a general rule, That the value of goods in commerce depends on a demand beyond what their quantity can satisfy; and rises in proportion to the excess of the demand above the quantity. Even water becomes valuable in countries where
the

the demand exceeds the quantity: in arid regions, springs of water are highly valued; and in old times were frequently the occasion of broils and bloodshed. Comparing next different commodities with respect to value, that commodity of which the excess of the demand above the quantity is the greater, will be of the greater value. Were utility or intrinsic value only to be considered, a pound of iron would be worth ten pounds of gold; but as the excess of the demand for gold above its quantity is much greater than that of iron, the latter is of less value in the market. A pound of opium or of Jesuit's bark is, for its salutary effects, more valuable than gold; and yet, for the reason given, a pound of gold will purchase many pounds of these drugs. Thus, in general, the excess of the demand above the quantity is the standard that chiefly fixes the mercantile value of commodities*.

The causes that make a demand, seem not so easily ascertained. One thing is evident, that the demand for necessaries in any country, must depend on the number of its inhabitants. This rule holds not so strictly in articles of convenience; because some people are more greedy of conveniencies than others. As to articles of taste and luxury, the demand appears so arbitrary as scarce to be reducible to any rule. A taste for beauty is general; but so different in different persons, as to make the demand extremely variable: the faint representation of any plant in an agate, is valued by some for its rarity; but the demand is far from being universal. Savages are despised for being fond of glass beads; but were

* In a voyage to Arabia Fœlix, ann. 1708, by a French ship, the King of the territory where the crew landed, gave them an ox weighing a thousand or twelve hundred pounds for a fusée, and three score pound-weight of rice for twenty-eight ounces of gun-powder. The goods bartered were estimated according to the wants of each party, or, in other words, according to the demand above the quantity.

such toys equally rare among us, they would be coveted by many: a copper coin of the Emperor Otho is of no intrinsic value; and yet, for its rarity, would draw a great price.

The value of gold and silver in commerce, like that of other commodities, was at first, we may believe, both arbitrary and fluctuating; and, like other commodities, they found in time their value in the market. With respect to value, however, there is a great difference between money and other commodities. Goods that are expensive in keeping, such as cattle, or that are impaired by time, such as corn, will always be first offered in exchange for what is wanted; and when such goods are offered to sale, the vender must be contented with the current price: in making the bargain the purchaser has the advantage; for he suffers not by reserving his money to a better market. And thus commodities are brought down by money to the lowest value that can afford any profit. At the same time, gold and silver sooner find their value than other commodities. The value of the latter is regulated both by the quantity and by the demand; the value of the former is regulated by the quantity only, the demand being unbounded: and even with respect to quantity, these precious metals are less variable than other commodities.

Gold and silver being thus sooner fixed in their value than other commodities, become a standard for valuing every other commodity, and consequently for comparative values. A bushel of wheat, for example, being valued at five shillings, a yard of broad cloth at fifteen, their comparative values are as one to three.

A standard of values is essential to commerce; and therefore where gold and silver are unknown, other standards are established by practice. The only standard among the savages of North America is the skin of a beaver. Ten of these are given for a gun, two for a pound of gun-powder, one for four pounds of

lead, one for six knives, one for a hatchet, six for a coat of wool-
len cloth, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of tobacco.
Some nations in Africa employ shells, termed *couries*, for a stand-
ard.

As my chief view in this sketch is, to examine how far indu-
stry and commerce are affected by the quantity of circulating
coin, I premise, in that view, the following plain propositions.
Supposing, first, the quantity of money in circulation, and the
quantity of goods in the market, to continue the same, the price
will rise and fall with the demand. For when more goods are de-
manded than the market affords, those who offer the highest price
will be preferred: as, on the other hand, when the goods brought
to market exceed the demand, the venders have no resource but
to entice purchasers by a low price. The price of fish, flesh,
butter, and cheese, is much higher than formerly; for these be-
ing now the daily food even of the lowest people, the demand for
them is greatly increased.

Supposing now a fluctuation in the quantity of goods only, the
price falls as the quantity increases, and rises as the quantity de-
creases. The farmer whose quantity of corn is doubled by a
favourable season, must sell at half the usual price; because the
purchaser, who sees a superfluity, will pay no more for it. The
contrary happens upon a scanty crop: those who want corn must
starve, or give the market-price, however high. The manufac-
tures of wool, flax, and metals, are much cheaper than former-
ly; for tho' the demand has increased, yet by skill and industry
the quantities produced have increased in a greater proportion.
More pot-herbs are consumed than formerly; and yet by skilful
culture the quantity is so much greater in proportion, as to have
lowered the price to less than one half of what it was eighty years
ago.

It

It is easy to combine the quantity and demand, supposing a fluctuation in both. Where the quantity exceeds the usual demand, more people will be tempted to purchase by the low price; and where the demand rises considerably above the quantity, the price will rise in proportion. In mathematical language, these propositions may be thus expressed, that the price is *directly* as the demand, and *inversely* as the quantity.

A variation in the quantity of circulating coin is the most intricate circumstance; because it never happens without making a variation in the demand for goods, and frequently in the quantity. I take the liberty however to suppose, that there is no variation but in the quantity of circulating coin; for tho' that cannot happen in reality, yet the result of the supposition will throw light upon what really happens: the subject is involved, and I wish to make it plain. I put a simple case, that the half of our current coin is at once swept away by some extraordinary accident. This at first will embarrass our internal commerce, as the vender will insist for the usual price, which now cannot be afforded. But the error of such demand will soon be discovered; and the price of commodities, after some fluctuation, will settle at the one half of what it was formerly. At the same time, there is here no downfall in the value of commodities, which cannot happen while the quantity and demand continue unvaried. The purchasing for a sixpence what formerly cost a shilling, makes no alteration in the value of the things purchased; because a sixpence is equal in value to what a shilling was formerly. In a word, when money is scarce, it must bear a high value: it must in particular go far in the purchase of goods; which we express by saying, that goods are cheap. — Put next the case, that by some accident our specie is instantly doubled. Upon supposition that the quantity and demand continue unvaried, the result must be, not instantaneous indeed, to double the price of commodities. Upon the former

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supposition,

supposition, a fixpence is in effect advanced to be a shilling: upon the present supposition, a shilling has in effect sunk down to a fixpence. And here again it ought to be observed, that tho' the price is augmented, there is no real alteration in the value of commodities. A bullock that, some years ago, could have been purchased for ten pounds, will at present yield fifteen. The vulgar ignorantly think, that the value of horned cattle has risen in that proportion. The advanced price may, in some degree, be occasioned by a greater consumption; but it is chiefly occasioned by a greater quantity of money in circulation*.

Combining all the circumstances, the result is, that if the quantity of goods and of money continue the same, the price will be in proportion to the demand. If the demand and quantity of goods continue the same, the price will be in proportion to the quantity of money. And if the demand and quantity of money continue the same, the price will fall as the quantity increases, and rise as the quantity diminishes.

These speculative notions will, I hope, enable us with accuracy to examine, how industry and commerce are affected by variations in the quantity of circulating coin. It is evident, that arts and manufactures cannot be carried on to any extent, without coin.

* It is commonly thought, that the rate of interest depends on the quantity of circulating coin; that interest will be high when money is scarce, and low when money abounds. But whatever be the cause of high or low interest, I am certain that the quantity of circulating coin can have no influence. Supposing, as above, the half of our money to be withdrawn, a hundred pounds lent ought still to afford but five pounds as interest; because if the principal be doubled in value, so is also the interest. If, on the other hand, the quantity of our money be doubled, the five pounds of interest will continue to bear the same proportion to the principal as formerly.

Hands totally employ'd in any art or manufacture require wages daily or weekly, because they must go to market for every necessary of life. The clothier, the tailor, the shoemaker, the gardener, the farmer, must employ servants to prepare their goods for the market, to whom, for that reason, wages ought to be regularly paid. In a word, commerce among an endless number of individuals who depend on each other even for necessaries, would be altogether inextricable without a quantity of circulating coin. Money may be justly conceived to be the oil, that lubricates all the springs and wheels of a great machine, and preserves it in motion *. Supposing us now to be provided with no more of that precious oil than is barely sufficient for the easy motion of our industry and manufactures, a diminution of the necessary quantity must cramp all of them. Our industry and manufactures must decay; and if we do not confine the expence of living to our present circumstances, which seldom happens, the balance of trade with foreign nations will turn against us, and leave us no resource for making the balance equal, but to export our gold and silver. And when we are drained of these metals, farewell to arts and manufactures. We shall be reduced to the condition of savages, which is, that each individual depends entirely on his own labour for procuring every necessary of life. The consequences of a favourable balance are at first directly opposite: but at the long-run come out to be the same: they are sweet in the mouth, but bitter in the stomach. A brisk influx of

* Money cannot be justly said to be deficient where there is sufficiency to purchase every commodity, including labour, that is wanted. Any greater quantity is hurtful to commerce, as will be seen afterward. But to be forc'd to contract debt even when one deals prudently and profitably, and consequently to be subjected to legal execution, is a proof, by no means ambiguous, of scarcity of money; which till of late was remarkably the case in Scotland.

riches by a favourable balance, rouses our activity. Plenty of money elevates our spirits, and inspires an appetite for pleasure: we indulge a taste for show and embellishment; become hospitable, and refine upon the arts of luxury. Plenty of money is a prevailing motive even with the most sedate, to exert themselves in building, in husbandry, in manufactures, and in other solid improvements. Such articles require both hands and materials, the prices of which are raised by the additional demand. The labourer again whose wages are thus raised, is not now satisfied with mere necessaries; but insists for conveniencies, the price of which also is raised by the new demand. In short, increase of money raises the price of every commodity; partly from the greater quantity of money, and partly from the additional demand for supplying artificial wants. Hitherto a delightful view of prosperous commerce: but behold the remote consequences. High wages will undoubtedly promote at first the spirit of industry, and double the quantity of labour: but the utmost exertion of labour is limited within certain bounds; and consequently a perpetual influx of gold and silver will not for ever be attended with a proportional quantity of work: The price of labour will rise in proportion to the quantity of money; but the produce will not rise in the same proportion; and for that reason our manufactures will be dearer than formerly. Hence a dismal scene. The high price at home of our manufactures will exclude us from foreign markets; for if the merchant cannot draw there for his goods what he paid at home, with some profit, he must abandon foreign commerce altogether. And what is still more dismal, we shall be deprived even of our own markets; for in spite of the utmost vigilance, foreign commodities, cheaper than our own, will be poured in upon us. The last scene is to be deprived of our gold and silver, and reduced to the same miserable state as if the balance had been against us from the beginning.

However

However certain it may appear, that an augmentation in the quantity of money must raise the price of labour and of manufactures, yet there is a fact that seems to contradict the proposition, which is, that in no other country are labour and manufactures so cheap as in the two peninsulas on the right and left of the Ganges, tho' in no other country is there such plenty of money. To account for this singular fact, political writers say, that money is there amassed by the nabobs, and withdrawn from circulation. This is not satisfactory: the chief exportation from these peninsulas are their manufactures, the price of which comes first to the merchant and manufacturer; and how can that happen without raising the price of labour? Rice, it is true, is the food of their labouring poor; and an acre of rice yields more food than five acres of wheat: but the cheapness of necessaries, tho' it hath a considerable influence in keeping down the price of labour, cannot have an effect so extraordinary as to keep it constantly down, in opposition to an overflowing current of money. The populousness of these two countries is a circumstance that has been totally overlooked. Every traveller is amazed how such swarms of people can find bread, however fertile the soil may be. Let us examine that circumstance. One thing is evident, that were the people fully employ'd, there would not be a demand for the tenth part of their manufactures. Here then is a country where hand-labour is a drug for want of employment. The people at the same time, sober and industrious, are glad to be employ'd at any rate; and whatever pittance is gained by labour makes always some addition. Hence it is, that in these peninsulas, superfluity of hands overbalancing both the quantity of money and the demand for their manufactures, serves to keep the price extremely low.

What is now said discovers an error in the proposition above laid down. It holds undoubtedly in Europe, and in every country where there is work for all the people, that an augmentation

tion in the circulating coin raises the price of labour and of manufactures: but such augmentation has no sensible effect in a country where there is a superfluity of hands, who are always disposed to work when they find employment.

From these premises it will be evident, that unless there be a superfluity of hands, manufactures can never flourish in a country abounding with mines of gold and silver. This in effect is the case of Spain: a constant influx of these metals, raising the price of labour and of manufactures, has deprived the Spaniards of foreign markets, and also of their own: they are reduced to purchase from strangers even the necessaries of life. What a dismal condition will they be reduced to when their mines come to be exhausted!

To illustrate this observation, which indeed is of great importance, I enter more minutely into the condition of Spain. The rough materials of silk, wool, and iron, are produced there more perfect than in any other country; and yet flourishing manufactures of these would be ruinous to it in its present state. Let us only suppose, that Spain itself could furnish all the commodities that are demanded in its American territories; what would be the consequence? The gold and silver produced by that trade would center and circulate in Spain: money would become a drug: labour and manufactures would rise to a high price; and every necessary of life, not excepting manufactures of silk, wool, and iron, would be smuggled into Spain, the high price there being sufficient to overbalance every risk: Spain would be left without industry, and without people. Spain was actually in the flourishing state here supposed when America was discovered: its gold and silver mines enflamed the disease; and consequently was the greatest misfortune that ever befel that once potent kingdom. The exportation of our silver coin to the East Indies, so loudly exclaim'd against by shallow politicians, is to us, on the contrary, a most substantial

substantial benefit: it keeps up the value of silver, and consequently lessens the value of labour and of goods, which enables us to maintain our place in foreign markets. Were there no drain for our silver, its quantity in our continent would sink its value so much as to render the American mines unprofitable. Notwithstanding the great flow of money to the East Indies, many mines in the West Indies are given up, because they afford not the expence of working; and were the value of silver in Europe brought much lower, the whole silver mines in the West Indies would be necessarily abandoned. Thus our East-India commerce, which is thought ruinous by many, because it is a drain to much of our silver, is for that very reason profitable to all. The Spaniards profit by importing it into Europe; and other nations profit, by receiving it for their manufactures.

How ignorantly do people struggle against the necessary connection of causes and effects! If money do not overflow, a commerce in which the imports exceed in value the exports, will soon drain a nation of its money, and put an end to industry. Commercial nations for that reason struggle hard for a favourable balance of trade; and they fondly imagine that it cannot be too favourable. If advantageous to them, it must be disadvantageous to those they deal with; which proves equally ruinous to both. They foresee indeed, but without concern, immediate ruin to those they deal with; but they have no inclination to foresee, that ultimately it will prove equally ruinous to themselves. It appears the intention of Providence, that all nations should benefit by commerce as by sunshine; and it is so ordered, that an unequal balance is prejudicial to the gainers as well as to the losers: the latter are immediate sufferers; but not less so ultimately are the former. This is one remarkable instance, among many, of providential wisdom in conducting human affairs, independent of the will of man, and frequently against his will. An ambitious na-

tion, placed advantageously for trade, would willingly engross all to themselves, and reduce their neighbours to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. But an invincible bar is opposed to such avarice, making an overgrown commerce the means of its own destruction. The commercial balance held by the hand of Providence, is never permitted to preponderate much to one side; and every nation partakes, or may partake, of all the comforts of life. Engrossing is bad policy; and men are prompted, both by interest and duty, to second the plan of Providence, and to preserve, as near as possible, equality in the balance of trade.

Upon these principles, a wise people, having acquired a stock of money sufficient for an extensive commerce, will tremble at a balance too advantageous: they will rest satisfied with an equal balance, which is the golden mean. A disadvantageous balance may always be prevented by industry and frugality: but by what means is a balance too favourable to be guarded against? With respect to that question, it is not the quantity singly of gold and silver in a country that raises the price of labour and manufactures, but the quantity in circulation; and may not the circulating quantity be regulated by the state, permitting no coinage but what is beneficial to its manufactures? Let the registers of foreign mints be carefully watched, in order that our current coin may not exceed that of our industrious neighbours. There will always be a demand for the surplus of our bullion, either to be exported as a commodity, or to be purchased at home for plate; which cannot be too much encouraged, being ready at every crisis to be coined for public service. The senate of Genoa has wisely burdened porcelaine with a heavy tax, being a foreign luxury; but it has not less wisely left gold and silver plate free; while we most unwisely have loaded it with a duty.

The accumulating of money in the public treasury, anciently the practice of every prudent monarch, prevents superfluity. Lies there

there any good objection against that practice, in a trading nation where gold and silver flow in with impetuosity? A great sum lock'd up by a frugal king, Henry VII. of England for example, lessens the quantity of money in circulation: profusion in a successor, which was the case of Henry VIII. is a spur to industry, similar to the influx of gold and silver from the new world. The canton of Bern, by locking up money in its treasury, possesses the miraculous art of reconciling immense wealth with frugality and cheap labour. A climate not kindly, and a soil not naturally fertile, enured the inhabitants to temperance and to virtue. Patriotism is their ruling passion: they consider themselves as children of the republic; are fond of serving their mother; and hold themselves sufficiently recompensed by the privilege of serving her; by which means the public revenue greatly exceeds the expence of government. They carefully lock up the surplus for purchasing land when a proper opportunity offers; which is a shining proof of their disinterestedness as well as of their wisdom. By that politic measure, much more than by war, the canton of Bern, from a very slender origin, is now far superior to any of the other cantons in extent of territory. But in what other part of the globe are there to be found ministers of state, moderate and disinterested like the citizens of Bern! In the hands of a rapacious ministry, the greatest treasure would not be long-lived: under the management of a British ministry, it would vanish in the twinkling of an eye; and do more mischief by augmenting our money in circulation above what is salutary, than formerly it did good by confining it within moderate bounds. But against such a measure there lies an objection still more weighty than its being an ineffectual remedy: in the hands of an ambitious prince it would prove dangerous to liberty.

If the foregoing measures be not relished, I can discover no other means for preserving our station in foreign markets, but a

bounty on exportation. The sum would be great: but the preserving our industry and manufactures, and the preventing an influx of foreign manufactures, are conspicuous advantages that cannot be purchased too dear. At the same time, a bounty on exportation would not be an unsupportable load: on the contrary, superfluity of wealth, procured by a balance constantly favourable, would make the load abundantly easy. A proper bounty would balance the growing price of labour and materials at home, and keep open the foreign market. By neglecting that salutary measure, the Dutch have lost all their manufactures, a neglect that has greatly benefited both England and France. The Dutch indeed act prudently in withholding that benefit as much as possible from their powerful neighbours: to prevent purchasing from them, they consume the manufactures of India.

The manufactures of Spain, once extensive, have been extirpated, partly by their mines of gold and silver. Authors ascribe to the same cause the decline of their agriculture; but erroneously: on the contrary, superfluity of gold and silver is favourable to agriculture, by raising the price of its productions. It raises also, it is true, the price of labour; but that additional expence is far from balancing the profit made by high prices of whatever is raised out of the ground. Too much wealth indeed is apt to make the farmer press into a higher rank: but it is the landlord's fault if that evil be not prevented by a proper heightening of the rent, which will always confine the farmer within his own sphere.

As gold and silver are essential to commerce, foreign and domestic, several commercial nations, fond of these precious metals, have endeavoured most absurdly to bar the exportation by penal laws; forgetting that gold and silver will never be exported while the balance of trade is in their favour, and that they must necessarily be exported when the balance is against them. Neither do they consider, that if a people continue industrious, they cannot
be

be long afflicted with an unfavourable balance; for the value of money, rising in proportion to its scarcity, will lower the price of their manufactures, and promote exportation: the balance will turn in their favour; and money will flow in, till by plenty its value be reduced to a par with that of neighbouring nations.

It is an important question, Whether a bank be upon the whole beneficial or hurtful to commerce. It is undoubtedly a spur to industry, like a new influx of money: but then, like such influx, it raises the price of labour and of manufactures. Weighing these two facts in a just balance, the result seems to be, that in a country where money is scarce, a bank properly constituted is a great blessing, as it in effect multiplies the specie, and promotes industry and manufactures; but that in a country which possesses money sufficient for an extensive trade, the only bank that will not hurt foreign commerce, is what is erected for supplying the merchant with ready money by discounting bills. At the same time, much caution and circumspection is necessary with respect to banks of both kinds. A bank erected for discounting bills, ought to be confined to bills really granted in the course of commerce; and ought to avoid, as much as possible, the being imposed on by fictitious bills drawn merely in order to procure a loan of money. And with respect to a bank purposely erected for lending money, there is great danger of extending credit too far, not only with respect to the bank itself and to its numerous debtors, but with respect to the country in general, by raising the price of labour and of manufactures, which is the never-failing result of too great plenty of money, whether coin or paper.

The different effects of plenty and scarcity of money, have not escaped that penetrating genius, the sovereign of Prussia. Money is not so plentiful in his dominions as to make it necessary to withdraw a quantity by heaping up treasure. He indeed always retains in his treasury six or seven millions Sterling for answering unforeseen

unforeseen demands: but being sensible that the withdrawing from circulation any larger sum would be prejudicial to commerce, every farthing saved from the necessary expence of government, is laid out upon buildings, upon operas, upon any thing rather than cramp circulation. In that kingdom, a bank established for lending money would promote industry and manufactures.

SKETCH

S K E T C H V.

Origin and Progress of ARTS.

S E C T I O N I.

USEFUL ARTS.

SOME useful arts must be nearly coeval with the human race; for food, cloathing, and habitation, even in their original simplicity, require some art. Many other arts are of such antiquity as to place the inventors beyond the reach of tradition. Several have gradually crept into existence, without an inventor. The busy mind however, accustomed to a beginning in things, cannot rest till it find or imagine a beginning to every art. Bacchus is said to have invented wine; and Staphylus, the mixing water with wine. The bow and arrow are ascribed by tradition to Scythos, son of Jupiter, tho' a weapon all the world over. Spinning is so useful, that it must be honoured with some illustrious inventor: it was ascribed by the Egyptians to their goddess Isis; by the Greeks to Minerva; by the Peruvians to Mama Ella, wife to their first sovereign Mango Capac; and by the Chinese to the wife of their Emperor Yao. Mark here by the way a connection

nection of ideas: spinning is a female occupation, and it must have had a female inventor *.

In the hunter-state, men are wholly occupied in procuring food, cloathing, habitation, and other necessaries; and have no time nor zeal for studying conveniencies. The ease of the shepherd-state affords both time and inclination for useful arts; which are greatly promoted by numbers who are relieved by agriculture from bodily labour: the soil, by gradual improvements in husbandry, affords plenty with less labour than at first; and the surplus hands are employ'd, first, in useful arts, and, next, in those of amusement. Arts accordingly make the quickest progress in a fertile soil, which produces plenty with little labour. Arts flourished early in Egypt and Chaldea, countries extremely fertile.

When men, who originally lived in caves like some wild animals, began to think of a more commodious habitation, their first houses were extremely simple; witness the houses of the Canadian savages, which continue so to this day. Their houses, says Charlevoix, are built with less art, neatness, and solidity, than those of the beavers; having neither chimneys nor windows: a hole only is left in the roof, for admitting light, and emitting smoke. That hole must be stopped when it rains or snows; and of course the fire is put out, that the inhabitants may not be blinded with smoke. To have passed so many ages in that man-

* The Illinois are industrious above all their American neighbours. Their women are neat-handed: they spin the wool of their horned cattle, which is as fine as that of English sheep. The stuffs made of it are dyed black, yellow, or red, and cut into garments sewed with roe-buck sinews. After drying these sinews in the sun, and beating them, they draw out threads as white and fine as any that are made of flax, but much tougher.

ner, without thinking of any improvement, shows how greatly men are influenced by custom. The blacks of Jamaica are still more rude in their buildings: their huts are erected without even a hole in the roof; and accordingly at home they breathe nothing but smoke.

Revenge early produced hostile weapons. The club and the dart are obvious inventions: not so the bow and arrow; and for that reason it is not easy to say how that weapon came to be universal. As iron is seldom found in a mine like other metals, it was a late discovery: at the siege of Troy, spears, darts, and arrows, were headed with brass. Menestheus, who succeeded Theseus in the kingdom of Athens, and led fifty ships to the siege of Troy, was reputed the first who marshalled an army in battle-array. Instruments of defence are made necessary by those of offence. Trunks of trees, interlaced with branches, and supported with earth, made the first fortifications; to which succeeded a wall finished with a parapet for shooting arrows at besiegers. As a parapet covers but half of the body, holes were left in the wall from space to space, no larger than to give passage to an arrow. Besiegers had no remedy but to beat down the wall: a battering ram was first used by Pericles the Athenian, and perfected by the Carthaginians at the siege of Gades. To oppose that formidable machine, the wall was built with advanced parapets for throwing stones and fire upon the enemy, which kept him at a distance. A wooden-booth upon wheels, and pushed close to the wall, secured the men who wrought the battering ram. This invention was rendered ineffectual, by surrounding the wall with a deep and broad ditch. Besiegers were reduced to the necessity of inventing engines for throwing stones and javelins upon those who occupied the advanced parapets, in order to give opportunity for filling up the ditch; and ancient histories expatiate upon the powerful operation of the catapulta and balista. These engines suggest-

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ed a new invention for defence: instead of a circular wall, it was built with salient angles, like the teeth of a saw, in order that one part might flank another. That form of a wall was afterward improved, by raising round towers upon the salient angles; and the towers were improved by making them square. The ancients had no occasion for any form more complete, being sufficient for defending against all the missile weapons at that time known. The invention of cannon required a variation in military architecture. The first cannons were made of iron bars, forming a concave cylinder, united by rings of copper. The first cannonballs were of stone, which required a very large aperture. A cannon was reduced to a smaller size, by using iron for balls instead of stone; and that destructive engine was perfected by making it of cast metal. To resist its force, bastions were invented, horn-works, crown-works, half-moons, &c. &c.; and military architecture became a system, governed by fundamental principles and general rules. But all in vain: it has indeed produced fortifications that have made sieges horridly bloody; but artillery at the same time has been carried to such perfection, and the art of attack so improved, that, according to the general opinion, no fortification can be rendered impregnable. The only impregnable defence, is good neighbourhood among weak princes, ready to unite whenever one of them is attacked with superior force. And nothing tends more effectually to promote such union, than constant experience that fortifications ought not to be relied on.

With respect to naval architecture, the first vessels were beams joined together, and covered with planks, pushed along with long poles in shallow water, and drawn by animals in deep water. To these succeeded trunks of trees cut hollow, termed by the Greeks *monoxyles*. The next were planks joined together in form of a monoxyle. The thought of imitating a fish advanced naval architecture. A prow was constructed in imitation of the head, a stern with

with a moveable helm, in imitation of the tail, and oars in imitation of the fins. Sails were at last added; which invention was so early that the contriver is unknown. Before the year 1545, ships of war in England had no port-holes for guns, as at present: they had only a few cannon placed on the upper deck.

When Homer composed his poems, at least during the Trojan war, the Greeks had not acquired the art of gelding cattle; they eat the flesh of bulls and of rams. Kings and princes killed and cooked their victuals: spoons, forks, table-cloths, napkins, were unknown. They fed sitting, the custom of reclining upon beds being afterward copied from Asia; and, like other savages, they were great eaters. At the time mentioned, they had not chimneys, nor candles, nor lamps. Torches are frequently mentioned by Homer, but lamps never: a vase was placed upon a tripod, in which was burnt dry wood for giving light. Locks and keys were not common at that time. Bundles were secured with ropes intricately combined (*a*); and hence the famous Gordian knot. Shoes and stockings were not early known among them, nor buttons, nor saddles, nor stirrups. Plutarch reports, that Gracchus caused stones to be erected along the high-ways leading from Rome, for the convenience of mounting a horse; for at that time stirrups were unknown, tho' an obvious invention. Linen for shirts was not used in Rome for many years after the government became despotic. Even so late as the eighth century, it was not common in Europe.

Thales, one of the seven wise men of Greece, about six hundred years before Christ, invented the following method for measuring the height of an Egyptian pyramid. He watched the progress of the sun, till his body and its shadow were of the same length; and

(*a*) *Odyssey*, b. 8. l. 483. Pope's translation.

at that instant measured the shadow of the pyramid, which consequently gave its height. Amasis King of Egypt, present at the operation, thought it a wonderful effort of genius; and the Greeks admired it highly. Geometry must have been in its very cradle at that time. Anaximander, some ages before Christ, made the first map of the earth, so far as then known. About the end of the thirteenth century, spectacles for assisting the sight were invented by Alexander Spina, a monk of Pisa. So useful an invention cannot be too much extolled. At a period of life when the judgement is in maturity, and reading is of great benefit, the eyes begin to grow dim. One cannot help pitying the condition of bookish men before that invention; many of whom must have had their sight greatly impaired, while their appetite for reading was in vigour.

As the origin and progress of writing make a capital article in the present sketch, they must not be overlooked. To write, or, in other words, to exhibit thoughts to the eye, was early attempted in Egypt by hieroglyphics. But these were not confined to Egypt: figures composed of painted feathers were used in Mexico to express ideas; and by such figures Montezuma received intelligence of the Spanish invasion: in Peru, the only arithmetical figures known were knots of various colours, which served to cast up accounts. The second step naturally in the progress of the art of writing, is, to represent each word by a mark, termed a *letter*; which is the Chinese way of writing: they have about 11,000 of these marks or letters in common use; and in matters of science, they employ to the number of 60,000. Our way is far more easy and commodious: instead of marks or letters for words, which are infinite, we represent by marks or letters, the articulate sounds that compose words: these sounds exceed not thirty in number; and consequently the same number of marks or letters are sufficient for writing. This was at once to step from hieroglyphics, the

the most imperfect mode of writing, to letters representing sounds, the most perfect; for there is no probability that the Chinese mode was ever practis'd in this part of the world. With us, the learning to read is so easy as to be acquired in childhood; and we are ready for the sciences as soon as the mind is ripe for them: the Chinese mode, on the contrary, is an unfurmountable obstruction to knowledge; because it being the work of a lifetime to read with ease, no time remains for studying the sciences. Our case was in some measure the same at the restoration of learning: it required an age to be familiarized with the Greek and Latin tongues; and too little time remained for gathering knowledge out of their books. The Chinese stand upon a more equal footing with respect to arts; for these may be acquired by imitation or oral instruction, without books.

The art of writing with letters representing sounds, is of all inventions the most important, and the least obvious. The way of writing in China makes so naturally the second step in the progress of the art, that our good fortune in stumbling upon a way so much more perfect cannot be sufficiently admired, when to it we are indebted for our superiority in literature above the Chinese. Their way of writing is a fatal obstruction to science; for it is so rivetted by inveterate practice, that the difficulty would not be greater to make them change their language than their letters. Hieroglyphics were a sort of writing, so miserably imperfect, as to make every improvement welcome; but as the Chinese make a tolerable shift with their own letters, however cumbersome to those who know better, they never dream of any improvement. Hence it may be averred with great certainty, that in China, the sciences, tho' still in infancy, will for ever continue so.

The art of writing was known in Greece when Homer composed his two epics; for he gives somewhere a hint of it. It was at
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that time probably in its infancy, and used only for recording laws, religious precepts, or other short works. Ciphers, invented in Hindostan, were brought into France from Arabia about the end of the tenth century.

Husbandry made a progress from Egypt to Greece, and from Afric to Italy. Mago, a Carthaginian General, composed twenty-eight books upon husbandry, which were translated into Latin by order of the Roman senate. From these fine and fertile countries, it made its way to colder and less kindly climates. According to that progress, agriculture must have been practised more early in France than in Britain; and yet the English at present make a greater figure in that art than the French, inferiority in soil and climate notwithstanding. Before husbandry became an art in the northern parts of Europe, the French noblesse had deserted the country, fond of society in a town-life. Landed gentlemen in England, more rough, and delighting more in hunting and other country-amusements, found leisure to practise agriculture. Skill in that art proceeded from them to their tenants, who now prosecute husbandry with success, tho' their landlords have generally betaken themselves to a town-life.

When Cæsar invaded Britain, agriculture was unknown in the inner parts: the inhabitants fed upon milk and flesh, and were cloathed with skins. Hollinshed, cotemporary with Elisabeth of England, describes the rudeness of the preceding generation in the arts of life: "There were very few chimneys even in capital towns: the fire was laid to the wall, and the smoke issued out at the roof, or door, or window. The houses were wattled and plaistered over with clay; and all the furniture and utensils were of wood. The people slept on straw-pallets, with a log of wood for a pillow." Henry II. of France, at the marriage of the Duchesse of Savoy, wore the first silk stockings that were made in France. Queen Elisabeth, the third year of her reign, received

ved in a present a pair of black filk knit stockings; and Dr Howel reports, that she never wore cloth hose any more. Before the conquest there was a timber bridge upon the Thames between London and Southwark, which was repaired by King William Rufus, and was burnt by accident in the reign of Henry II. ann. 1176. At that time a stone bridge in place of it was projected, but it was not finished till the year 1212. The bridge Notre-Dame over the Seine in Paris was first of wood. It fell down anno 1499; and as there was not in France a man who would undertake to rebuild it of stone, an Italian cordelier was employ'd, whose name was *Joconde*, the same upon whom Sanazarius made the following pun:

Jocondus geminum imposuit tibi, Sequana, pontem;

Hunc tu jure potes dicere pontificem.

The art of making glass was imported from France into England ann. 674, for the use of monasteries. Glass windows in private houses were rare even in the twelfth century, and held to be great luxury. King Edward III. invited three clockmakers of Delft in Holland to settle in England. In the former part of the reign of Henry VIII. there did not grow in England cabbage, carrot, turnip, or other edible root; and it has been noted, that even Queen Catharine herself could not command a salad for dinner, till the King brought over a gardener from the Netherlands. About the same time, the artichoke, the apricot, the damask rose, made their first appearance in England. Turkeys, carps, and hops, were first known there in the year 1524. The currant-shrub was brought from the island of Zant ann. 1533; and in the year 1540, cherry-trees from Flanders were first planted in Kent. It was in the year 1563 that knives were first made in England. Pocket-watches were brought there from Germany ann. 1577. About the year

1580,

1580, coaches were introduced; before which time Queen Elizabeth on public occasions rode behind her chamberlain. A saw-mill was erected near London ann. 1633, but afterward demolished, that it might not deprive the labouring poor of employment. How crude was the science of politics even in that late age?

People who are ignorant of weights and measures fall upon odd shifts to supply the defect. Howel Dha Prince of Wales, who died in the year 948, was their capital lawgiver. One of his laws is, "If any one kill or steal the cat that guards the Prince's granary, he forfeits a milch ewe with her lamb; or as much wheat as will cover the cat when suspended by the tail, the head touching the ground." By the same lawgiver a fine of twelve cows is enacted for a rape committed upon a maid, eighteen for a rape upon a matron. If the fact be proved after being denied, the criminal for his falsity pays as many shillings as will cover the woman's posteriors.

The negroes of the kingdom of Ardrah in Guinea have made great advances in arts. Their towns, for the most part, are fortified, and connected by great roads, kept in good repair. Deep canals from river to river are commonly filled with canoes, for pleasure some, and many for business. The vallies are pleasant, producing wheat, millet, yams, potatoes, lemons, oranges, cocoa-nuts, and dates. The marshy grounds near the sea are drained; and salt is made by evaporating the stagnating water. Salt is carried to the inland countries by the great canal of Ba, where numberless canoes are daily seen going with salt, and returning with gold dust or other commodities.

In all countries where the people are barbarous and illiterate, the progress of arts is wofully slow. It is vouched by an old French poem, that the virtues of the loadstone were known in France before the 1180. The mariner's compass was exhibited at Venice ann. 1260 by Paulus Venetus, as his own invention.

John
Goya

Goya of Amalphi was the first who, many years afterward, used it in navigation; and also passed for being the inventor. Tho' it was used in China for navigation long before it was known in Europe, yet to this day it is not so perfect as in Europe. Instead of suspending it in order to make it act freely, it is placed upon a bed of sand, by which every motion of the ship disturbs its operation. Hand-mills, termed *querns*, were early used for grinding corn; and when corn came to be raised in greater quantity, horse-mills succeeded. Water-mills for grinding corn are described by Vitruvius (a). Wind-mills were known in Greece and in Arabia as early as the seventh century; and yet no mention is made of them in Italy till the fourteenth century. That they were not known in England in the reign of Henry VIII. appears from a household book of an Earl of Northumberland, contemporary with that King, stating an allowance for three mill-horses, "two to draw in the mill, and one to carry stuff to the "mill and fro." Water-mills for corn must in England have been of a later date. The ancients had mirror-glasses, and employ'd glass to imitate crystal vases and goblets: yet they never thought of using it in windows. In the thirteenth century, the Venetians were the only people who had the art of making crystal glass for mirrors. A clock that strikes the hours was unknown in Europe till the end of the twelfth century. And hence the custom of employing men to proclaim the hours during night; which to this day continues in Germany, Flanders, and England. Galileo was the first who conceived an idea that a pendulum might be useful for measuring time; and Hughens was the first who put the idea in execution, by making a pendulum clock. Hook, in the year 1660, invented a spiral spring for a watch, tho' a watch was far from being a new invention. Paper was made no

(a) L. 10. cap. 10.

earlier than the fourteenth century; and the invention of printing was a century later. Silk manufactures were long established in Greece before silk-worms were introduced there. The manufacturers were provided with raw silk from Persia: but that commerce being frequently interrupted by war, two monks, in the reign of Justinian, brought eggs of the silk-worm from Hindostan, and taught their countrymen the method of managing them. The art of reading made a very slow progress. To encourage that art in England, the capital punishment for murder was remitted if the criminal could but read, which in law-language is termed *benefit of clergy*. One would imagine that the art must have made a very rapid progress when so greatly favoured: but there is a signal proof of the contrary; for so small an edition of the Bible as six hundred copies, translated into English in the reign of Henry VIII. was not wholly sold off in three years. The people of England must have been profoundly ignorant in Queen Elizabeth's time, when a forged clause added to the twentieth article of the English-creed passed unnoticed till about forty years ago*.

The discoveries of the Portuguese in the west coast of Africa, is a remarkable instance of the slow progress of arts. In the begin-

* In the act 13th Elizabeth anno 1571, confirming the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, these articles are not engrossed, but referred to as comprised in a printed book, intitled, *Articles agreed to by the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London 1562*. The forged clause is, "The church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." In the articles referred to, that clause is not to be found, nor the slightest hint of any authority with respect to matters of faith. In the same year 1571, the articles were printed both in Latin and English, precisely as in the year 1562. But soon after came out spurious editions, in which the said clause was foisted into the twentieth article, and continues so to this day. A forgery so impudent would not pass at present; and its success shows great ignorance in the people of England at that period.

ning of the fifteenth century, they were totally ignorant of that coast beyond Cape Non, 28 deg. north latitude. In the 1410 the celebrated Prince Henry of Portugal fitted out a fleet for discoveries, which proceeded along the coast to Cape Bojadore in 26 deg.; but had not courage to double it. In 1418 Tristan Vaz discovered the island Porto Santo; and the year after the island Madeira was discovered. In 1439 a Portuguese captain doubled Cape Bojadore; and the next year the Portuguese reached Cape Blanco, lat. 20 deg. In 1446 Nuna Tristan doubled Cape Verd, lat. 14° 40'. In 1448 Don Gonzallo Vallo took possession of the Azores. In the 1449 the islands of Cape Verd were discovered for Don Henry. In the 1471 Pedro d'Escovar discovered the island St Thomas and Prince's island. In 1484 Diego Cam discovered the kingdom of Congo. In 1486 Bartholemew Diaz, employ'd by John II. of Portugal, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which he called *Cabo Tormentoso*, from the tempestuous weather he found in the passage.

The exertion of national spirit upon any particular art, promotes activity to prosecute other arts. The Romans, by constant study, came to excel in the art of war, which led them naturally to improve upon other arts. Having, in the progress of society, acquired some degree of taste and polish, a talent for writing broke forth. Nevius composed in verse seven books of the Punic war; beside comedies, replete with bitter raillery against the nobility (a). Ennius wrote annals, and an epic poem (b). Lucius Andronicus was the father of dramatic poetry in Rome (c). Pacu-

(a) Titus Livius, lib. 7. c. 2.

(b) Quintilian, lib. 10. c. 17.

(c) Cicero de oratore, lib. 2. No. 72.

vius wrote tragedies (*a*). Plautus and Terence wrote comedies. Lucilius composed satires, which Cicero esteems to be slight, and void of erudition (*b*). Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus, Piso Frugi, Valerius Antias, and Cato, were rather annalists than historians, confining themselves to naked facts, ranged in order of time. The genius of the Romans for the fine arts was much inflamed by Greek learning, when free intercourse between the two nations was opened. Many of those who made the greatest figure in the Roman state, commenced authors, Cæsar, Cicero, &c. Sylla composed memoirs of his own transactions, a work much esteemed even in the days of Plutarch.

The progress of art seldom fails to be rapid, when a people happen to be roused out of a torpid state by some fortunate change of circumstances: prosperity contrasted with former abasement, gives to the mind a spring, which is vigorously exerted in every new pursuit. The Athenians made but a mean figure under the tyranny of Pisistratus; but upon regaining freedom and independence, they were converted into heroes. Miletus, a Greek city of Ionia, being destroy'd by the King of Persia, and the inhabitants made slaves; the Athenians, deeply affected with the misery of their brethren, boldly attacked that king in his own dominions, and burnt the city of Sardis. In less than ten years after, they gained a signal victory at Marathon; and under Themistocles, made head against that prodigious army with which Xerxes threatened utter ruin to Greece. Such prosperity produced its usual effect: arts flourished with arms, and Athens became the chief theatre for sciences as well as for fine arts. The reign of

(*a*) Cicero de oratore, lib. 2. No. 193.

(*b*) De finibus, lib. 1. No. 7.

Augustus Cæsar, which put an end to the rancour of civil war and restored peace to Rome with the comforts of society, proved an auspicious æra for literature; and produced a cloud of Latin historians, poets, and philosophers, to whom the moderns are indebted for their taste and talents. One who makes a figure rouses emulation in all: one catches fire from another, and the national spirit is every where triumphant: classical works are composed, and useful discoveries made in every art and science. This fairly accounts for the following observation of Velleius Paterculus (*a*), that eminent men generally appear in the same period of time. "One age," says he, "produced Eschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, who advanced tragedy to a great height. In another age the old comedy flourished under Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes; and the new was invented by Menander, and his contemporaries Diphilus and Philemon, whose compositions are so perfect that they left to posterity no hope of rivalry. The philosophic sages of the Socratic school, appeared all about the time of Plato and Aristotle. And as to rhetoric, few excelled in that art before Isocrates, and as few after the second descent of his scholars." The historian applies the same observation to the Romans, and extends it even to grammarians, painters, statuary, and sculptors. With regard to Rome, it is true, that the Roman government under Augustus was in effect despotic: but despotism, in that single instance, made no obstruction to literature, it having been the politic of that reign to hide power as much as possible. A similar revolution happened in Tuscany about three centuries ago. That country having been divided into a number of small republics, the people, excited by mutual hatred between small nations in close neighbourhood, became ferocious and bloody,

(a) *Historia Romana*, lib. 1. in fine.

flaming with revenge for the slightest offence. These republics being united under the Great Duke of Tuscany, enjoy'd the sweets of peace in a mild government. That comfortable revolution, which made the deeper impression by a retrospect to recent calamities, roused the national spirit, and produced ardent application to arts and literature. The restoration of the royal family in England, which put an end to a cruel and envenomed civil war, promoted improvements of every kind: arts and industry made a rapid progress among the people, tho' left to themselves by a weak and fluctuating administration. Had the nation, upon that favourable turn of fortune, been blessed with a succession of able and virtuous princes, to what a height might not arts and sciences have been carried! In Scotland, a favourable period for improvements was the reign of the first Robert, after shaking off the English yoke: but the domineering spirit of the feudal system rendered abortive every attempt. The restoration of the royal family, mentioned above, animated the legislature of Scotland to promote manufactures of various kinds: but in vain; for the union of the two crowns had introduced despotism into Scotland, which sunk the genius of the people, and rendered them heartless and indolent. Liberty indeed and many other advantages, were procured to them by the union of the two kingdoms; but these salutary effects were long suspended by mutual enmity, such as commonly subsists between neighbouring nations. Enmity wore out gradually, and the eyes of the Scots were opened to the advantages of their present condition: the national spirit was roused to emulate and to excel: talents were exerted, hitherto latent; and Scotland at present makes a figure in arts and sciences, above what it ever made while an independent kingdom *.

Another

* In Scotland, an innocent bankrupt imprisoned for debt, obtains liberty by a process termed *Cessio bonorum*. From the year 1694 to the 1744 there were but twenty-

Another cause of activity and animation, is the being engaged in some important action of doubtful event, a struggle for liberty, the resisting a potent invader, or the like. Greece, divided into small states frequently at war with each other, advanced literature and the fine arts to unrivalled perfection. The Corficans, while engaged in a perilous war for defence of their liberties, exerted a vigorous national spirit: they founded an university for arts and sciences, a public library, and a public bank. After a long stupor during the dark ages of Christianity, arts and literature revived among the turbulent states of Italy. The royal society in London, and the academy of sciences in Paris, were both of them instituted after civil wars that had animated the people, and roused their activity.

An useful art is seldom lost, because it is in constant practice. And yet, tho' many useful arts were in perfection during the reign of Augustus Cæsar, it is amazing how ignorant and stupid men became, after the Roman empire was shattered by northern barbarians: they degenerated into savages. So ignorant were the Spanish Christians during the eighth and ninth centuries, that Alphonfus the Great, King of Leon, was reduced to the necessity of employing Mahometan preceptors for educating his eldest son. Even Charlemagne could not sign his name: nor was he singular in that respect, being kept in countenance by several neighbouring princes.

twenty-four processes of that kind; which shows how languidly trade was carried on while the people remained still ignorant of their advantages by the union. From that time to the year 1771 there have been thrice that number every year, taking one year with another; an evident proof of the late rapid progress of commerce in Scotland. Every one is roused to venture his small stock, tho' every one cannot be successful.

As the progress of arts and sciences toward perfection is greatly promoted by emulation, nothing is more fatal to an art or science than to remove that spur, as where some extraordinary genius appears who soars above rivalry. Mathematics seem to be declining in Britain: the great Newton, having surpassed all the ancients, has not left to the moderns even the faintest hope of equaling him; and what man will enter the lists who despairs of victory?

In early times, the inventors of useful arts were remembered with fervent gratitude. Their history became fabulous by the many incredible exploits that were attributed to them. Diodorus Siculus mentions the Egyptian tradition of Osiris, that with a numerous army he traversed every inhabited part of the globe, in order to teach men the culture of wheat and of the vine. Beside the impracticability of supporting a numerous army where husbandry is unknown, no army could enable Osiris to introduce wheat or wine among stupid savages who live by hunting and fishing, which probably was the case, in that early period, of all the nations he visited.

In a country thinly peopled, where even necessary arts want hands, it is common to see one person exercising more arts than one: in several parts of Scotland, one man serves as a physician, surgeon, and apothecary. In a very populous country, even simple arts are split into parts, and each part has an artist appropriated to it. In the large towns of ancient Egypt, a physician was confined to a single disease. In mechanic arts that method is excellent. As a hand confined to a single operation becomes both expert and expeditious, a mechanic art is perfected by having its different operations distributed among the greatest number of hands: many hands are employ'd in making a watch; and a still greater number in manufacturing a web of woollen cloth. Various arts or operations carried on by the same man, enervate his

his mind, because they exercise different faculties; and as he cannot be equally expert in every art or operation, he is frequently reduced to supply want of skill by thought and invention. Constant application, on the contrary, to a single operation, confines the mind to a single object, and excludes all thought and invention: in such a train of life, the operator becomes dull and stupid, like a beast of burden. The difference is visible in the manners of the people: in a country where, from want of hands, several occupations must be carried on by the same person, the people are knowing and conversable: in a populous country where manufactures flourish, they are ignorant and unsociable. The same effect is equally visible in countries where an art or manufacture is confined to a certain class of men. It is visible in Hindostan, where the people are divided into *casts*, which never mix even by marriage, and where every man follows his father's trade. The Dutch lint-boors are a similar instance: the same families carry on the trade from generation to generation; and are accordingly ignorant and brutish even beyond other Dutch peasants. The inhabitants of Buckhaven, a seaport in the county of Fife, were originally a colony of foreigners, invited hither to teach our people the art of fishing. They continue fishers to this day, marry among themselves, have little intercourse with their neighbours, and are dull and stupid to a proverb.

S E C T. II.

Progress of TASTE and of the FINE ARTS.

THE sense by which we perceive right and wrong in actions, is termed the *moral sense*: the sense by which we perceive beauty and deformity in objects, is termed *taste*. Perfection in the moral sense consists in perceiving the minutest differences of right and wrong: perfection in taste consists in perceiving the minutest differences of beauty and deformity; and such perfection is termed *delicacy of taste* (a).

The moral sense is born with us; and so is taste: yet both of them require much cultivation. Among savages, the moral sense is faint and obscure; and taste still more so *. Even in the most enlightened ages, it requires in a judge both education and experience to perceive accurately the various modifications of right and wrong: and to acquire delicacy of taste, a man must grow old in examining beauties and deformities. In Rome, abounding with productions of the fine arts, an illiterate shopkeeper is a more correct judge of statues, of pictures, and of buildings, than the

* Some Iroquois, after seeing all the beauties of Paris, admired nothing but the street De la Houchette, where they found a constant supply of eatables.

(a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 111. edit. 4.

best-educated citizen of London (a). Thus taste goes hand in hand with the moral sense in their progress toward maturity, and they ripen equally by the same sort of culture. Want, a barren soil, cramps the growth of both: sensuality, a soil too fat, corrupts both: the middle state, equally distant from dispiriting poverty and luxurious sensuality, is the soil in which both of them flourish.

As the fine arts are intimately connected with taste, it is impracticable, in tracing their progress, to separate them by accurate limits. I join therefore the progress of the fine arts to that of taste, where the former depends entirely on the latter; and I handle separately the progress of the fine arts, where that progress is influenced by other circumstances beside taste.

During the infancy of taste, imagination is suffered to roam, as in sleep, without control. Wonder is the passion of savages and of rustics; to raise which, nothing is necessary but to invent giants and magicians, fairy-land and enchantment. The earliest exploits recorded of warlike nations, are giants mowing down whole armies, and little men overcoming giants; witness Joannes Magnus, Torfeus, and other Scandinavian writers. Hence the absurd romances that delighted the world for ages; which are now fallen into contempt every where. Madame de la Fayette led the way to novels in the present mode. She was the first who introduced sentiments instead of wonderful adventures, and amiable men instead of bloody heroes. In substituting distresses to prodigies, she made a discovery that persons of taste and feeling are more attached by compassion than by wonder.

When gigantic fictions were banished, some remaining taste for the wonderful encouraged gigantic similes, metaphors, and allegories. The Song of Solomon, and many other Asiatic composi-

(a) Elements of Criticism, chap. 25.

tions, afford examples without end of such figures; which are commonly attributed to force of imagination in a warm climate. But a more extensive view will show this to be a mistake. In every climate, hot and cold, the figurative style is carried to extravagance, during a certain period in the progress of writing; a style that is relished by all at first, and continues to delight many till it yield to a taste polished by long experience. Even in the bitter cold country of Iceland, we are at no loss for examples. A rainbow is termed *Bridge of the gods*: gold, *Tears of Freya*: the earth is termed *Daughter of Night*, the vessel that floats upon Ages; and herbs and plants are her *hair*, or her *fleece*. Ice is termed *the great bridge*: a ship, *horse of the floods*. Many authors foolishly conjecture, that the Hurons and some other neighbouring nations, are of Asiatic extraction; because, like the Asiatics, their discourse is highly figurative.

The national progress of morality is slow: the national progress of taste is still slower. In proportion as a nation polishes, and improves in the arts of peace, taste ripens. The Chinese had long enjoy'd a regular system of government, while the Europeans were comparatively in a chaos; and accordingly literary compositions in China were brought to perfection more early than in Europe. In their poetry they indulge no incredible fables, like those of Ariosto or the Arabian Tales; but commonly select such as afford a good moral. Their novels, like those of the most approved kind among us, treat of misfortunes unforeseen, unexpected good luck, and persons finding out their real parents. The Orphan of China, composed in the fourteenth century, surpasses far any European play in that early period. But good writing has made a more rapid progress with us; not from superiority of talents, but from the great labour the Chinese must undergo, in learning to read and write their own language. The Chinese tragedy is indeed languid, and not sufficiently interesting; which Voltaire ascribes to

to want of genius. With better reason he might have ascribed it to the nature of their government, so well contrived for preserving peace and order, as to afford few examples of surprising events, and little opportunity for exerting manly talents.

A nation cannot acquire a taste for ridicule till it emerge out of the savage state. Ridicule however is too rough for refined manners: Cicero discovers in Plautus a happy talent for ridicule, and peculiar delicacy of wit; but Horace, who figured in the court of Augustus, eminent for delicacy of taste, declares against the low roughness of that author's raillery (a). The high burlesk style prevails commonly in the period between barbarity and politeness, in which a taste somewhat improved discovers the ridicule of former manners. Rabelais in France and Butler in England are illustrious examples. Dr Swift is our latest burlesk writer, and probably will be the last.

Emulation among a multitude of small states in Greece, ripened taste, and promoted the fine arts. Taste, roused by emulation, refines gradually; and is advanced toward perfection by a diligent study of beautiful productions. Rome was indebted to Greece for that delicacy of taste which shone during the reign of Augustus, especially in literary compositions. But taste could not long flourish in a despotic government: so low had the Roman taste fallen in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, that nothing would please him but to suppress Homer, and in his place to install a silly Greek poet, named *Antimachus*.

The northern barbarians who desolated the Roman empire, and revived in some measure the savage state, occasioned a woful decay of taste. Pope Gregory VII. anno 1080, presented to the Emperor Rodolph a crown of gold with the following inscription:

(a) Elements of Criticism, chap. 2. part 2.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho. Miserably low must taste have been in that period, when a childish play of words was relished as a proper decoration for a serious solemnity. The famous golden bull of Germany, digested anno 1356 by Bartolus, a celebrated lawyer, and intended for a master-piece of composition, is replete with wild conceptions, without the least regard to truth, propriety, or connection. It begins with an apostrophe to Pride, to Satan, to Choler, and to Luxury: it asserts, that there must be seven electors for opposing the seven mortal sins: The fall of the angels, terrestrial paradise, Pompey, and Cæsar, are introduced; and it is said, that Germany is founded on the Trinity, and on the three theological virtues. What can be more puerile! A sermon preached by the Bishop of Bitonto, at the opening of the council of Trent, excels in that manner of composition. He proves, that a council is necessary; because several councils have extirpated heresy, and deposed kings and emperors; because the poets assemble councils of the gods; because Moses writes, that at the creation of man and at confounding the language of the giants, God acted in the manner of a council; because religion has three heads, doctrine, sacraments, and charity, and that these three are termed a council. He exhorts the members of the council to strict unity, like the heroes in the Trojan horse. He asserts, that the gates of paradise and of the council are the same; that the holy fathers should sprinkle their dry hearts with the living water that flowed from it; and that otherwise the Holy Ghost would open their mouths like those of Balaam and Caiaphas (a). James I. of Britain dedicates his declaration against Vorstius to our Saviour, in the following words. "To the honour of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of the eternal Father, the only Theanthropos,

(a) Father Paul's history of Trent, lib. 1.

" mediator

“ mediator and reconciler of mankind ; in sign of thankfulness,
“ his most humble and obliged servant, James, by the grace
“ of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender
“ of the Faith, doth dedicate and consecrate this his declaration.”

Funeral orations were some time ago in fashion. Regnard, who was in Stockholm about the year 1680, heard a funeral oration at the burial of a servant-maid. The priest, after mentioning her parents and the place of her birth, praised her as an excellent cook, and enlarged upon every ragout that she made in perfection. She had but one fault, he said, which was the salting her dishes too much ; but that she show'd thereby her prudence, of which salt is the symbol ; a stroke of wit that probably was admired by the whole audience. Funeral orations are out of fashion : the futility of a trite panegyric purchased with money, and indecent flattery in circumstances that require sincerity and truth, could not long stand against improved taste. The yearly feast of the *asf* that carried the mother of God into Egypt, was a most ridiculous farce, highly relished in the dark ages of Christianity. See the description of that feast in Voltaire's general history (a).

The public amusements of our forefathers, show the grossness of their taste after they were reduced to barbarism by the Goths and Vandals. The plays termed *Mysteries*, because they were borrow'd from the scriptures, indicate gross manners as well as infantine taste ; and yet in France, not farther back than three or four centuries, these *Mysteries* were such favourites as constantly to make a part at every public festival. The reformation of religion, which roused a spirit of inquiry, banished that amusement, as not only low but indecent. A sort of plays succeeded, termed *Moralities*, less indecent indeed, but scarce preferable in point of

(a) Chap. 78.

composition. These Moralities have also been long banished, except in Spain, where they still continue in vigour. The devil is commonly the hero: nor do the Spaniards make any difficulty, even in their more regular plays, to introduce supernatural and allegorical beings upon the same stage with men and women. The Cardinal Colonna carried into Spain a beautiful bust of the Emperor Caligula. In the war about the succession of Spain, after the death of its King Charles II. Lord Gallway, upon a painful search, found that bust serving as a weight to a church-clock.

In the days of our barbarous forefathers, who were governed by pride as well as by hatred, princes and men of rank entertained a changeling, distinguished by the name of *fool*; who being the butt of their silly jokes, flattered their vanity. Such amusement, not less gross than inhuman, could not show its face even in the dawn of taste: it was rendered less insipid and less inhuman, by entertaining one of real wit; who, under disguise of a fool, was indulged in the most satirical truths. Upon a further purification of taste, it was discovered, that to draw amusement from folly, real or pretended, is below the dignity of human nature. More refined amusements were invented, such as balls, public spectacles, gaming, and society with women. Parasites, described by Plautus and Terence, were of such a rank as to be permitted to dine with gentlemen; and yet were so despicable as to be the butt of every man's joke. They were placed at the lower end of the table; and the guests diverted themselves with daubing their faces, and even kicking and cuffing them; all which was patiently born for the sake of a plentiful meal. They resembled the fools and clowns of later times, being equally intended to be laughed at: but the parasite profession shows grosser manners; it being less indelicate to make game of fools, who were men of the lowest rank, than of parasites, who were gentlemen by birth, tho' not by behaviour.

Pride, which introduced fools, brought dwarfs also into fashion.

In

In Italy, fondness for dwarfs was carried to extravagance. "Being at Rome in the year 1566," says a French writer, "I was invited by Cardinal Vitelli to a feast, where we were served by no fewer than thirty-four dwarfs, most of them horridly distorted." Was not the taste of that Cardinal horridly distorted? The same author adds, that Francis I. and Henry II. Kings of France, had many dwarfs: one named *Great John* was the least ever had been seen, if it was not a dwarf at Milan, who was carried about in a cage.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, no sort of commerce was known in Europe but what was carried on in markets and fairs. Artificers and manufacturers were dispersed through the country, and so were monasteries; the towns being inhabited by none but clergymen, and those who immediately depended on them. The nobility lived on their estates, unless when they followed the court. The low people were not at liberty to quit the place of their birth: the *villain* was annexed to the estate, and the *slave*, to the person, of his lord. Slavery fostered rough manners; and there could be no improvement in manners, nor in taste, where there was no society. Of all the polite nations in Europe, the English were the latest of taking to a town-life; and their progress in taste and manners was proportionally slow. By no audience in the neighbouring kingdoms, would the following passage in one of Dryden's plays have been endured. "Jack Sauce! if I say it is a tragedy, it shall be a tragedy in spite of you: teach your grandam how to piss." These plays are full of such coarse stuff, and yet continued favourites down to the Revolution. For a long time after the revival of arts and sciences, Lucan was ranked above Virgil by every critic. Ben Johnson, and even Beaumont and Fletcher, were preferred before Shakespeare*; and the sublime genius of

* Yet Shakespeare spent his life in writing for such people. Unhappy Shakespeare! who, like his countryman Roger Bacon, lived in an age unworthy of him.

Milton made little impression for more than half a century after *Paradise Lost* was published. We have Dryden's authority that taste in his time was considerably refined:

- " They who have best succeeded on the stage,
 " Have still conform'd their genius to their age.
 " Thus Johnson did mechanic humour shew,
 " When men were dull, and conversation low.
 " Then comedy was faultless, but 'twas coarse:
 " Cobb's Tankard was a jest, and Otter's Horse.
 " Fame then was cheap, and the first comer sped:
 " And they have kept it since by being dead.
 " But were they now to write, when critics weigh
 " Each line and ev'ry word throughout a play,
 " None of them, no not Johnson in his height,
 " Could pass without allowing grains for weight.
 " If love and honour now are higher rais'd,
 " It's not the poet, but the age is prais'd:
 " Wit's now arriv'd to a more high degree,
 " Our native language more refin'd and free.
 " Our ladies and our men now speak more wit
 " In conversation, than those poets writ."

The high opinion Dryden had of himself and of his age, breaks out in every line. Johnson probably had the same opinion of himself and of his age: the present age is not exempted from that bias; nor will the next age be, tho' probably maturity in taste will be still later. We humble ourselves before the antients who are far removed from us; but not to soar above our immediate predecessors, would be a sad mortification. Many scenes in Dryden's plays, if not lower than Cobb's Tankard or Otter's Horse, are more

out

out of place. In the *Wild Gallant*, the hero is a wretch constantly employ'd, not only in cheating his creditors, but in cheating his mistress, a lady of high rank and fortune. And how absurd is the scene, where he convinces the father of his mistress that the devil had got him with child! The character of Sir Martin Mar-all is below contempt. The scenes in the same play, of a bawd instructing one of her novices how to behave to her gallants, and of the novice practising her lessons, are perhaps not lower than Cobb's Tankard or Otter's Horse, but surely they are less innocent.

Portugal was rising in power and splendor when Camoens wrote the *Lusiad*; and with respect to the music of verse it has merit. The author however is far from shining in point of taste. He makes a strange jumble of Heathen and Christian Deities. "Gama," observes Voltaire, "in a storm addresses his prayers to "Christ, but it is Venus who comes to his relief." Voltaire's observation is but too well founded. In the first book, Jove summons a council of the gods, which is described at great length, for no earthly purpose but to show that he favoured the Portuguese. Bacchus, on the other hand, declares against them upon the following account, that he himself had gained immortal glory as conqueror of the Indies; which would be eclipsed if the Indies should be conquered a second time by the Portuguese. A Moorish commander having received Gama with smiles, but with hatred in his heart, the poet brings down Bacchus from heaven to confirm the Moor in his wicked purposes; which would have been perpetrated, had not Venus interposed in Gama's behalf. In the second canto, Bacchus feigns himself to be a Christian, in order to deceive the Portuguese; but Venus implores her father Jupiter to protect them. And yet, after all, I am loth to condemn an early writer for introducing Heathen Deities as actors in a real history, when in the age of Lewis XIV. celebrated for refinement of

taste, we find French writers, Boileau in particular, guilty sometimes of the same absurdity (a).

Tho' taste in France is more correct than in any other nation, it will bear still some purification. The scene of a clyster-pipe in Moliere is too low even for a farce; and yet to this day it is acted, with a few softenings, before the most polite audience in Europe.

In Elements of Criticism (b) several causes are mentioned that may retard taste in its progress toward maturity, and that still more effectually may give it a retrograde motion when it is in maturity. There are many biases both natural and acquired that tend to mislead persons even of the best taste. Of the latter, instances are without number. I select one or two to show what influence even the slightest circumstances have on taste. The only tree beautiful at all seasons is the holly: in winter, its deep and shining green intitles it to be the queen of the grove: in summer, this colour completes the harmonious mixture of shades so pleasing in that season! Mrs D—— is lively and sociable. She in particular is eminent above most of her sex for a correct taste; display'd not only within doors but in the garden and in the field. Having become mistress of a great house by matrimony, the most honourable of all titles, a group of tall hollies, which had long been suffered to obscure a capital room, soon attracted her eye. She took an aversion to a holly, and was not at ease till the group was extirpated. Such a bias is perfectly harmless. What follows is not altogether so excusable. The Oxonians disliked the great Newton because he was educated at Cambridge; and they favoured every book writ against him. That bias, I hope, has not come down to the present time.

(a) Elements of Criticism, chap. 22.

(b) Chap. 25.

Refinement of taste in a nation is always accompanied with refinement of manners: people accustomed to behold order and elegance in public buildings and public gardens, acquire urbanity in private. But it is irksome to trudge long in a beaten track, familiar to all the world; and therefore, leaving what is said above, like a statue curtail'd of legs and arms, I hasten to the history of the fine arts.

Useful arts paved the way to fine arts. Men upon whom the former had bestow'd every convenience, turned their thoughts to the latter. Beauty was studied in objects of sight; and men of taste attached themselves to the fine arts, which multiply'd their enjoyments and improved their benevolence. Sculpture and painting made an early figure in Greece; which afforded plenty of beautiful originals to be copied in these imitative arts. Statuary, a more simple imitation than painting, was sooner brought to perfection: the statue of Jupiter by Phidias and of Juno by Polycletes, tho' the admiration of all the world, were executed long before the art of light and shade was known. Apollodorus, and Zeuxis his disciple, who flourished in the fifteenth Olympiad, were the first who figured in that art. Another cause concurred to advance statuary before painting in Greece, viz. a great demand for statues of their gods. Architecture, as a fine art, made a slower progress. Proportions, upon which its elegance chiefly depends, cannot be accurately ascertained, but by an infinity of trials in great buildings: a model cannot be relied on; for a large and a small building even of the same form, require different proportions. Gardening, however, made a still slower progress than architecture: the palace of Alcinoous, in the seventh book of the *Odyssey*, is grand and highly ornamented; but his garden is no better than what we term a kitchen-garden.

The ancient churches in this island cannot be our own invention, being unfit for a cold climate. The vast space they occupy,
quantity

quantity of stone, and gloominess by excluding the sun, afford a refreshing coolness, and fit them for a hot climate only. It is highly probable that they have been copied from the mosques in the south of Spain, erected there by the Saracens. Spain, when possessed by that people, was the centre of arts and sciences, and led the fashion in every thing beautiful and magnificent.

From the fine arts mentioned, we proceed to literature. It is agreed among all antiquaries, that the first writings were in verse, and that writing in prose was of a much later date. The first Greek who wrote in prose, was Pherecides Syrus: the first Roman, was Appius Cæcus, who composed a declamation against Pyrrhus. The four books of the Chatah Bhade, which is the sacred book of Hindostan, are composed in verse stanzas; and the Arabian compositions in prose followed long after those in verse. To account for that singular fact, many learned pens have been employ'd; but without success. By some it has been urged, that as memory is the only record of events where writing is unknown, history originally was composed in verse for the sake of memory. This is not satisfactory. To undertake the painful task of composing in verse merely for the sake of memory, would require more foresight than ever was exerted by a barbarian; not to mention that other means were used for preserving the memory of remarkable events, a heap of stones, a pillar, or other object that catches the eye. The account given by Longinus is more ingenious. In a fragment of his treatise on verse, the only part that remains, he observes, "that measure or verse belongs to poetry, because
" poetry represents the various passions with their language; for
" which reason the ancients, in their ordinary discourse, delivered
" their thoughts in verse rather than in prose." Longinus thought, that anciently men were more exposed to accidents and dangers, than when they were protected by good government and by fortified cities. But he seems not to have adverted, that fear
and

and grief, inspired by dangers and misfortunes, are better suited to humble prose than to elevated verse. I add, that however natural poetical diction may be when one is animated with any vivid passion, it is not supposable that the ancients never wrote nor spoke but when excited by passion. Their history, their laws, their covenants, were certainly not composed in that tone of mind.

An important article in the progress of the fine arts, which writers have not sufficiently attended to, will, if I mistake not, explain this mystery. The article is the profession of a bard, which sprung up in early times before writing was known, and died away gradually as writing turned more and more common. The curiosity of man is great with respect to the transactions of his own species; and when such transactions are described in verse accompanied with music, the performance is enchanting. An ear, a voice, skill in instrumental music, and above all a poetical genius, are requisite to excel in that complicated art. As such talents are rare, the few that possessed them were highly esteemed; and hence the profession of a bard, which, beside natural talents, required more culture and exercise than any other known art. Bards were capital persons at every festival and at every solemnity. Their songs, which, by recording the achievements of kings and heroes, animated every hearer, must have been the entertainment of every warlike nation. We have Hesiod's authority, that in his time bards were as common as potters or joiners, and as liable to envy. Demodocus is mentioned by Homer as a celebrated bard (a); and Phemius, another bard, is introduced by him deprecating the wrath of Ulysses, in the following words.

(a) *Odyssey* b. 8.

" O king! to mercy be thy soul inclin'd,
 " And spare the poet's ever-gentle kind.
 " A deed like this thy future fame would wrong,
 " For dear to gods and men is sacred song.
 " Self-taught I sing; by heav'n, and heav'n alone,
 " The genuine seeds of poesy are sown;
 " And (what the gods bestow) the lofty lay,
 " To gods alone, and godlike worth, we pay.
 " Save then the poet, and thyself reward;
 " 'Tis thine to merit, mine is to record."

Cicero reports, that at Roman festivals anciently, the virtues and exploits of their great men were sung (*a*). The same custom prevailed in Peru and Mexico, as we learn from Garcilasso and other authors. Strabo (*b*) gives a very particular account of the Gallic bards. The following quotation is from Ammianus Marcellinus (*c*). " Bardi quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta, heroicis composita versibus, cum dulcibus lyræ modulis, cantantur." We have for our authority Father Gobien, that even the inhabitants of the Marian islands have bards, who are greatly admired, because in their songs are celebrated the feats of their ancestors. There are traces of the same kind among the Apalachites in North America *. And we shall see afterward (*d*), that in

(*a*) Tusculan Questions, lib. 4. N° 3. & 4.

(*b*) Lib. 4.

(*c*) Lib. 15. cap. 9.

(*d*) Sketch 7. Progress of Manners.

* The first seal that a young Greenlander catches is made a feast for the family and neighbours. The young champion, during the repast, descants upon his address in catching the animal: the guests admire his dexterity, and extol the flavour of

in no other part of the world were bards more honoured than in Britain and Scandinavia.

Bards were the only historians before writing was introduced. Tacitus (*a*) says, that the songs of the German bards were their only annals. And Joannes Magnus Archbishop of Upsal acknowledges, that in compiling his history of the ancient Goths, he had no other records but the songs of the bards. As these songs made an illustrious figure at every festival, they were convey'd in every family by parents to their children; and in that manner were kept alive before writing was known.

The invention of writing made a considerable change in the bard-profession. It is now an agreed point, that no poetry is fit to be accompanied with music, but what is simple: a complicated thought or description requires the utmost attention, and leaves none for the music; or if it divide the attention, it makes but a faint impression (*b*). The simple operas of Quinault bear away the palm from every thing of the kind composed by Boileau or Racine. But when a language, in its progress to maturity, is en-

of the meat. Their only music is a sort of drum, which accompanies a song in praise of seal-catching, in praise of their ancestors, or in welcoming the sun's return to them. Here are the rudiments of the bard-profession. The song is made for a chorus, as many of our ancient songs are. Take the following example.

“ The welcome sun returns again,
 “ Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu!
 “ And brings us weather fine and fair.
 “ Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu!

The bard sings the first and third lines, accompanying it with his drum and with a sort of dance. The other lines, termed the burden of the song, are sung by the guests.

(*a*) De moribus Germanorum, cap. 2.

(*b*) See Elements of Criticism, vol. 2. Appendix.

riched with variety of phrases fit to express the most elevated thoughts, men of genius aspired to the higher strains of poetry, leaving music and song to the bards: which distinguished the profession of a poet from that of a bard. Homer, in a lax sense, may be termed a bard; for in that character he strolled from feast to feast. But he was not a bard in the original sense: he indeed recited his poems to crowded audiences; but his poems are too complex for music, and he probably did not sing them, nor accompany them with the lyre. The Trovadores of Provence were bards in the original sense; and made a capital figure in days of ignorance, when few could read, and fewer write. In later times the songs of the bards were taken down in writing, which gave every one access to them without a bard; and the profession sunk by degrees into oblivion. Among the highlanders of Scotland, reading and writing in their own tongue is not common even at present; and that circumstance supported long the bard-profession among them, after being forgot among neighbouring nations. Ossian was the most celebrated bard in Caledonia, as Homer was in Greece*.

After the foregoing historical deduction, the reader will perceive without my assistance why the first writings were in verse. The songs of the bards, being universal favourites, were certainly the first compositions that writing was employ'd upon: they would be carefully collected by the most skilful writers, in order to preserve

* The multitude are struck with what is new and splendid, but seldom continue long in a wrong taste. Voltaire holds it to be a strong testimony for the *Gierusalem Liberata*, that even the gondoliers in Venice have it mostly by heart; and that one no sooner pronounces a stanza than another carries it on. The works of Ossian have the same testimony for them: there are not many highlanders, even of the lowest rank, but can repeat long passages out of them.

them in perpetual remembrance. The following part of the progress is equally obvious. People acquainted with no written compositions but what were in verse, composed in verse their laws, their religious ceremonies, and every memorable transaction that was intended to be preserved in memory by writing. But when subjects of writing multiplied and became more and more involved, when people began to reason, to teach, and to harangue, they were obliged to descend to humble prose: for to confine a writer or speaker to verse in handling subjects of that nature, would be a burden unsupportable.

The prose compositions of early historians are all of them dramatic. A writer destitute of art is naturally prompted to relate facts as he saw them performed: he introduces his personages as speaking and conferring; and he himself relates what was acted and not spoke. The historical books of the Old Testament are composed in that mode; and so addicted to the dramatic are the authors of those books, that they frequently introduce God himself into the dialogue. At the same time, the simplicity of that mode is happily suited to the poverty of every language in its early periods. The dramatic mode has a delicious effect in expressing sentiments, and every thing that is simple and tender (*a*). Take the following instance of a low incident becoming by that means not a little interesting. Naomi having lost her husband and her two sons in foreign parts, and purposing to return to the land of her forefathers, said to her two daughters in law, "Go, return each to her mother's house: the LORD deal kindly with you, as ye have dealt with the dead, and with me. The LORD grant you that you may find rest, each of you in the house of her husband. Then she kissed them: and they lift up their voice and

(*a*) See Elements of Criticism, chap. 22.

“ wept. And they said unto her, Surely we will return with thee
“ unto thy people. And Naomi said, Turn again, my daughters:
“ ters: why will ye go with me? are there yet any more sons in
“ my womb, that they may be your husbands? Turn again,
“ my daughters, go your way, for I am too old to have an husband:
“ band: if I should say, I have hope, if I should have a husband
“ also to night, and should also bear sons; would ye tarry for
“ them till they were grown? would ye stay for them from having
“ husbands? nay, my daughters: for it grieveth me much
“ for your sakes, that the hand of the LORD is gone out against
“ me. And they lift up their voice, and wept again: and Orpah
“ kissed her mother in law, but Ruth clave unto her. And she
“ said, Behold, thy sister in law is gone back unto her people,
“ and unto her gods: return thou after thy sister in law. And
“ Ruth said, Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following
“ after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and
“ where thou lodgest I will lodge: thy people shall be my people,
“ and thy God my God: where thou diest, will I die, and there
“ will I be buried: the LORD do so to me, and more also, if
“ ought but death part thee and me. When she saw that she was
“ stedfastly minded to go with her, then she left speaking unto
“ her.

“ So they two went until they came to Beth-lehem. And it
“ came to pass when they were come to Beth-lehem, that all the
“ city was moved about them, and they said, Is this Naomi?
“ And she said unto them, Call me not Naomi, call me Mara:
“ for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me. I went out
“ full, and the LORD hath brought me home again empty: why
“ then call ye me Naomi, seeing the LORD hath testified against
“ me, and the Almighty hath afflicted me? So Naomi returned,
“ and Ruth the Moabitess her daughter in law with her, which
“ returned

“ returned out of the country of Moab: and they came to Beth-lehem in the beginning of barley-harvest.

“ And Naomi had a kinsman of her husband's, a mighty man of wealth, of the family of Elimelech; and his name was Boaz. And Ruth the Moabitess said unto Naomi, Let me now go to the field, and glean ears of corn after him in whose sight I shall find grace. And she said unto her, Go, my daughter. And she went, and came, and gleaned in the field after the reapers: and her hap was to light on a part of the field belonging unto Boaz, who was of the kindred of Elimelech.

“ And behold, Boaz came from Beth-lehem, and said unto the reapers, The LORD be with you: and they answered him, The LORD bless thee. Then said Boaz unto his servant that was set over the reapers, Whose damsel is this? And the servant that was set over the reapers answered and said, It is the Moabitish damsel that came back with Naomi, out of the country of Moab: and she said, I pray you, let me glean, and gather after the reapers, amongst the sheaves: so she came, and hath continued even from the morning until now, that she tarried a little in the house. Then said Boaz unto Ruth, Hearest thou not, my daughter? Go not to glean in another field, neither go from hence, but abide here fast by my maidens. Let thine eyes be on the field that they do reap, and go thou after them: have I not charged the young men, that they shall not touch thee? and when thou art athirst, go unto the vessels, and drink of that which the young men have drawn. Then she fell on her face, and bowed herself to the ground, and said unto him, Why have I found grace in thine eyes, that thou shouldst take knowledge of me, seeing I am a stranger? And Boaz answered and said unto her, It hath fully been shewed me all that thou hast done unto thy mother in law since the death of thine husband: and how thou hast left thy father and thy mother,

“ and

“ and the land of thy nativity, and art come unto a people which
“ thou knewest not heretofore. The LORD recompense thy work,
“ and a full reward be given thee of the LORD God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust. Then she said, Let me
“ find favour in thy sight, my lord, for that thou hast comforted me, and for that thou hast spoken friendly unto thine handmaid, though I be not like unto one of thine handmaidens.
“ And Boaz said unto her, At meal-time come thou hither, and eat of the bread, and dip thy morsel in the vinegar. And she sat beside the reapers: and he reached her parched corn, and she did eat, and was sufficed, and left. And when she was
“ risen up to glean, Boaz commanded his young men, saying, Let her glean even among the sheaves, and reproach her not,
“ And let fall also some of the handfuls of purpose for her, and leave them, that she may glean them, and rebuke her not. So she gleaned in the field until even, and beat out that she had
“ gleaned: and it was about an ephah of barley.

“ And she took it up, and went into the city: and her mother in law saw what she had gleaned: and she brought forth, and gave to her that she had reserved, after she was sufficed. And her mother in law said unto her, Where hast thou gleaned to day? and where wroughtest thou? blessed be he that did take
“ knowledge of thee. And she shewed her mother in law with whom she had wrought, and said, The mans name with whom I wrought to day, is Boaz. And Naomi said unto her daughter in law, Blessed be he of the LORD, who hath not left off his
“ kindness to the living and to the dead. And Naomi said unto her, The man is near of kin unto us, one of our next kinsmen.
“ And Ruth the Moabites said, He said unto me also, Thou shalt keep fast by my young men, until they have ended all my
“ harvest. And Naomi said unto Ruth her daughter in law, It is good, my daughter, that thou go out with his maidens, that
“ they

“ they meet thee not in any other field. So she kept fast by the
“ maidens of Boaz to glean, unto the end of barley-harvest, and
“ of wheat-harvest; and dwelt with her mother in law.

“ Then Naomi her mother in law said unto her, My daughter,
“ shall I not seek rest for thee, that it may be well with thee?
“ And now is not Boaz of our kindred, with whose maidens thou
“ wast? Behold he winnoweth barley to night in the threshing-
“ floor. Wash thy self therefore, and anoint thee, and put thy
“ raiment upon thee, and get thee down to the floor: but make
“ not thyself known unto the man, until he shall have done eat-
“ ing and drinking. And it shall be when he lieth down, that
“ thou shalt mark the place where he shall lie, and thou shalt go
“ in, and uncover his feet, and lay thee down, and he will tell
“ thee what thou shalt do. And she said unto her, All that thou
“ sayst unto me, I will do.

“ And she went down unto the floor, and did according to all
“ that her mother in law bade her. And when Boaz had eaten
“ and drunk, and his heart was merry, he went to lie down at
“ the end of the heap of corn: and she came softly, and unco-
“ vered his feet, and laid her down.

“ And it came to pass at midnight, that the man was afraid,
“ and turned himself: and behold, a woman lay at his feet. And
“ he said, Who art thou? And she answered, I am Ruth thine
“ handmaid: spread therefore thy skirt over thine handmaid, for
“ thou art a near kinsman. And he said, Blessed be thou of the
“ LORD, my daughter: for thou hast shewed more kindness in
“ the latter end, than at the beginning, inasmuch as thou fol-
“ lowedst not young men, whether poor or rich. And now, my
“ daughter, fear not, I will do to thee all that thou requirest: for
“ all the city of my people doth know, that thou art a virtuous
“ woman. And now it is true, that I am thy near kinsman: how-
“ beit there is a kinsman nearer than I. Tarry this night, and it
“ shall

“ shall be in the morning, that if he will perform unto thee the
“ part of a kinsman, well, let him do the kinsmans part; but if
“ he will not do the part of a kinsman to thee, then will I do the
“ part of a kinsman to thee, as the LORD liveth: lie down until
“ the morning.

“ And she lay at his feet until the morning: and she rose up
“ before one could know another. And he said, Let it not be
“ known that a woman came into the floor. Also he said, Bring
“ the vail that thou hast upon thee, and hold it. And when she
“ held it, he measured six measures of barley, and laid it on her:
“ and she went into the city. And when she came to her mother
“ in law, she said, Who art thou, my daughter? And she
“ told her all that the man had done to her. And she said, These
“ six measures of barley gave he me; for he said to me, Go not
“ empty unto thy mother in law. Then said she, Sit still, my
“ daughter, until thou know how the matter will fall: for the
“ man will not be in rest, until he have finished the thing this
“ day.

“ Then went Boaz up to the gate, and sat him down there:
“ and behold, the kinsman of whom Boaz spake, came by; unto
“ whom he said, Ho, such a one, turn aside, sit down here.
“ And he turned aside and sat down. And he took ten men of
“ the elders of the city, and said, Sit ye down here. And they
“ sat down. And he said unto the kinsman, Naomi that is come
“ again out of the country of Moab, selleth a parcel of land,
“ which was our brother Elimelech's. And I thought to advertise
“ thee, saying, Buy it before the inhabitants, and before the
“ elders of my people. If thou wilt redeem it, redeem it; but if
“ thou wilt not redeem it, then tell me, that I may know: for
“ there is none to redeem it besides thee, and I am after thee. And
“ he said, I will redeem it. Then said Boaz, What day thou
“ buyest the field of the hand of Naomi, thou must buy it also of
“ Ruth

“ Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of the dead, to raise up the name
“ of the dead upon his inheritance.

“ And the kinsman said, I cannot redeem it for my self, lest I mar
“ mine own inheritance: redeem thou my right to thy self, for I
“ cannot redeem it. Now this was the manner in former time in
“ Israel, concerning redeeming, and concerning changing, for to
“ confirm all things: a man plucked off his shoe, and gave it to
“ his neighbour: and this was a testimony in Israel. Therefore
“ the kinsman said unto Boaz, Buy it for thee: so he drew off his
“ shoe.

“ And Boaz said unto the elders, and unto all the people, Ye are
“ witnesses this day, that I have bought all that was Elimelech's,
“ and all that was Chilion's, and Mahlon's, of the hand of Naomi.
“ Moreover, Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon, have I
“ purchased to be my wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon
“ his inheritance, that the name of the dead be not cut off from
“ among his brethren, and from the gate of his place: ye are wit-
“ nesses this day. And all the people that were in the gate, and
“ the elders said, We are witnesses: The LORD make the woman
“ that is come into thine house, like Rachel, and like Leah,
“ which two did build the house of Israel: and do thou worthily
“ in Ephratah, and be famous in Beth-lehem. And let thy house
“ be like the house of Pharez (whom Tamar bare unto Judah) of
“ the seed which the LORD shall give thee of this young wo-
“ man.

“ So Boaz took Ruth, and she was his wife: and when he went
“ in unto her, the LORD gave her conception, and she bare a
“ son. And the women said unto Naomi, Blessed be the LORD,
“ which hath not left thee this day without a kinsman, that his
“ name may be famous in Israel. And he shall be unto thee a re-
“ storer of thy life, and a nourisher of thine old age: for thy
“ daughter in law which loveth thee, which is better to thee than

" seven sons, hath born him. And Naomi took the child, and
 " laid it in her bosom, and became nurse unto it (a)."

The dramatic mode is far from pleasing so much in relating bare historical facts. Take the following example.

" Wherefore Nathan spake unto Bath-sheba the mother of Solomon, saying, Hast thou not heard that Adonijah the son of Haggith doth reign, and David our lord knoweth it not? Now therefore come, let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel, that thou mayst save thine own life, and the life of thy son Solomon. Go, and get thee in unto king David, and say unto him, Didst not thou, my lord O king, swear unto thine handmaid, saying, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne? why then doth Adonijah reign? Behold, while thou yet talkest there with the king, I will also come in after thee, and confirm thy words.

" And Bath-sheba went in unto the king, into the chamber: and the king was very old; and Abishag the Shunammite ministered unto the king. And Bath-sheba bowed, and did obeisance unto the king: and the king said, What wouldst thou? And she said unto him, My lord, thou sweardest by the LORD thy God unto thine handmaid, saying, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne: and now behold, Adonijah reigneth; and now my lord the king, thou knowest it not. And he hath slain oxen, and fat cattle, and sheep in abundance, and hath called all the sons of the king, and Abiathar the priest, and Joab the captain of the host: but Solomon thy servant hath he not called. And thou, my lord O king, the eyes of all Israel are upon thee, that thou shouldst tell them who shall sit on the throne of my lord the

(a) Ruth, i. 8. — iv. 16.

“ king after him. Otherwise it shall come to pass, when my lord
 “ the king shall sleep with his fathers, that I and my son Solo-
 “ mon shall be counted offenders.

“ And lo, while she yet talked with the king, Nathan the pro-
 “ phet also came in. And they told the king, saying, Behold,
 “ Nathan the prophet. And when he was come in before the
 “ king, he bowed himself before the king with his face to the
 “ ground. And Nathan said, My lord O king, hast thou said,
 “ Adonijah shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne?
 “ For he is gone down this day, and hath slain oxen, and fat
 “ cattle, and sheep in abundance, and hath called all the king’s
 “ sons, and the captains of the host, and Abiathar the priest; and
 “ behold, they eat and drink before him, and say, God save
 “ king Adonijah. But me, even me thy servant, and Zadok the
 “ priest, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and thy servant Solo-
 “ mon hath he not called. Is this thing done by my lord the king,
 “ and thou hast not shewed it unto thy servant, who should sit on
 “ the throne of my lord the king after him?

“ Then king David answered and said, Call me Bath-sheba :
 “ and she came into the king’s presence, and stood before the
 “ king. And the king sware, and said, As the LORD liveth, that
 “ hath redeemed my soul out of all distress, even as I sware un-
 “ to thee by the LORD God of Israel, saying, Assuredly Solomon
 “ thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne
 “ in my stead; even so will I certainly do this day. Then Bath-
 “ sheba bowed with her face to the earth, and did reverence to
 “ the king, and said, Let my lord king David live for ever.

“ And king David said, Call me Zadok the priest, and Nathan
 “ the prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada. And they came
 “ before the king. The king also said unto them, Take with you
 “ the servants of your lord, and cause Solomon my son to ride
 “ upon mine own mule, and bring him down to Gihon. And

“ let Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, anoint him there
“ king over Israel : and blow ye with the trumpet, and say, God
“ save king Solomon. Then ye shall come up after him, that he
“ may come and sit upon my throne ; for he shall be king in my
“ stead : and I have appointed him to be ruler over Israel, and o-
“ ver Judah. And Benaiah the son of Jehoiada answered the
“ king, and said, Amen : the LORD God of my lord the king say
“ so too. As the LORD hath been with my lord the king, even so
“ be he with Solomon, and make his throne greater then the throne
“ of my lord king David. So Zadok the priest, and Nathan the
“ prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites
“ and the Pelethites, went down, and caused Solomon to ride up-
“ on king David’s mule, and brought him to Gihon. And Zadok
“ the priest took an horn of oyl out of the tabernacle, and anoint-
“ ed Solomon : and they blew the trumpet, and all the people
“ said, God save king Solomon. And all the people came up af-
“ ter him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoyced with
“ great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound of them.

“ And Adonijah, and all the guests that were with him, heard
“ it, as they had made an end of eating : and when Joab heard
“ the sound of the trumpet, he said, Wherefore is this noise of
“ the city, being in an upre ? And while he yet spake, behold,
“ Jonathan the son of Abiathar the priest came, and Adonijah
“ said unto him, Come in, for thou art a valiant man, and
“ bringest good tidings. And Jonathan answered and said to A-
“ donijah, Verily our lord king David hath made Solomon king.
“ And the king has sent with him Zadok the priest, and Nathan
“ the prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and the Chere-
“ thites, and the Pelethites, and they have caused him to ride up-
“ on the king’s mule. And Zadok the priest, and Nathan the
“ prophet have anointed him king in Gihon : and they are come
“ up from thence rejoycing, so that the city rang again : this is
“ the

“ the noise that ye have heard. And also Solomon sitteth on the
“ throne of the kingdom. And moreover the king's servants
“ came to bless our lord king David, saying, God make the name
“ of Solomon better than thy name, and make his throne great-
“ er than thy throne : and the king bowed himself upon the bed.
“ And also thus said the king, Blessed be the LORD God of Israel,
“ which hath given one to sit on my throne this day, mine eyes
“ even seeing it. And all the guests that were with Adonijah
“ were afraid, and rose up, and went every man his way (a)”.

In the example here given are found frequent repetitions ; not however by the same person, but by different persons who have occasion in the course of the story to say the same things ; which is natural in the dramatic mode, where things are represented precisely as they were transacted. In that view, Homer's repetitions are a beauty, not a blemish ; for they are confined to the dramatic part, and never occur in the narrative.

But the dramatic mode of composition, however pleasing, is tedious and intolerable in a long history. In the progress of society new appetites and new passions arise ; men come to be involved with each other in various connections ; incidents and events multiply, and history becomes intricate by an endless variety of circumstances. Dialogue accordingly is more sparingly used, and in history plain narration is mixed with it. Narration is as it were the ground-work, and dialogue is raised upon it, like flowers in embroidery. Homer is admitted by all to be the great master in that mode of composition. Nothing can be more perfect in that respect than the Iliad. The Odyssey is far inferior ; and to guard myself against the censure of the blind admirers of Homer, a tribe extremely formidable, I call to my

* 1 Kings, i. 11. — 49.

aid a celebrated critic, whose superior taste and judgement never has been disputed. "The Odyſſey," ſays Longinus, "ſhows how natural it is for a writer of a great genius, in his declining age, to ſink down to fabulous narration; for that Homer compoſed the Odyſſey after the Iliad is evident from many circumſtances. As the Iliad was compoſed while his genius was in its greateſt vigour, the ſtructure of that work is dramatic and full of action; the Odyſſey, on the contrary, is moſtly employ'd in narration, proceeding from the coldneſs of old age. In that later compoſition, Homer may be compared to the ſetting ſun, which has ſtill the ſame greatneſs, but not the ſame ardor or force. We ſee not in the Odyſſey that ſublime of the Iliad which conſtantly proceeds in the ſame animated tone, that ſtrong tide of motions and paſſions flowing ſucceſſively like waves in a ſtorm. But Homer, like the ocean, is great, even when he ebbs, and loſes himſelf in narration and incredible fictions; witneſs his deſcription of tempeſts, the adventures of Ulyſſes with Polyphemus the Cyclops, and many others *."

The narrative mode came in time ſo to prevail, that in a long chain of hiſtory, the writer commonly leaves off dialogue altogether. Early writers of that kind appear to have very little judgement in diſtinguiſhing capital facts from minute circumſtances, ſuch as can be ſupply'd by the reader without being mentioned. The hiſtory of the Trojan war by Dares Phrygius is a curious inſtance of that cold and creeping manner of compoſition. Take the following paſſage. Hercules having made a deſcent upon Troy, ſlew King

* The *Pilgrim's Progreſs* and *Robiſon Cruſoe*, great favourites of the vulgar, are compoſed in a ſtyle enlivened like that of Homer by a proper mixture of the dramatic and narrative; and upon that account chiefly have been tranſlated into ſeveral European languages.

Laomedon,

Laomedon, and made a present of Hefione, the King's daughter, to Telamon his companion. Priamus, who succeeded to the kingdom of Troy upon the death of his father Laomedon, sent Antenor to demand his sister Hefione. Our author proceeds in the following manner. "Antenor, as commanded by Priamus, took shipping, and sailed to Magnesia, where Peleus resided. Peleus entertained him hospitably three days, and the fourth day demanded whence he came. Antenor said, that he was ordered by Priamus to demand from the Greeks, that they should restore Hefione. When Peleus heard this he was angry, because it concerned his family, Telamon being his brother; and ordered the ambassador to depart. Antenor, without delay, retired to his ship, and sailed to Salamis, where Telamon resided, and demanded of him, that he should restore Hefione to her brother Priamus; as it was unjust to detain so long in servitude a young woman of royal birth. Telamon answered, that he had done nothing to Priamus; and that he would not restore what he had received as a reward for his valour; and ordered Antenor to leave the island. Antenor went to Achaia; and sailing from thence to Castor and Pollux, demanded of them to satisfy Priamus, by restoring to him his sister Hefione. Castor and Pollux denied that they had done any injury to Priamus, but that Laomedon had first injured them; ordering Antenor to depart. From thence he sailed to Nestor in Pylos, telling him the cause of his coming; which when Nestor heard, he begun to exclaim, how Antenor durst set his foot in Greece, seeing the Greeks were first injured by the Phrygians. When Antenor found that he had obtained nothing, and that Priamus was contumeliously treated, he went on shipboard, and returned home." The Roman histories before the time of Cicero are chronicles merely. Cato, Fabius, Pictor, and Piso, confined

fined themselves to naked facts (a). In the *Augustæ Historie scriptores* we find nothing but a jejune narrative of facts, commonly of very little moment, concerning a degenerate people, without a single incident that can rouse the imagination, or exercise the judgement. The monkish histories are all of them composed in the same manner*.

The dry narrative manner being very little interesting or agreeable, a taste for embellishment prompted some writers to be copious and verbose. Saxo Grammaticus, who in the 12th century composed in Latin a history of Denmark, surprisingly pure at that early period, is extremely verbose and full of tautologies. Such a style, at any rate unpleasant, is intolerable in a modern tongue, before it is enriched with a stock of phrases for expressing aptly the great variety of incidents that enter into history. Take the following example out of an endless number. Henry VII. of England, having the young Queen of Naples in view for a wife, deputed three men in character of ambassadors, to visit her, and to answer certain questions contained in curious and exquisite instructions for taking a survey of her person, complexion, &c. as expressed by Bacon in his life of that prince. One of the instructions was, to procure a picture of the Queen; which one would think could not re-

* Euripides, in his *Phœnicians*, introduces Oedipus, under sentence of banishment and blind, calling for his staff, his daughter Antigone putting it in his hand, and directing every step, to keep him from stumbling. Such minute circumstances, like what are frequent in Richardson's novels, tend indeed to make the reader conceive himself to be a spectator (b): but whether that advantage be not more than overbalanced by the languor of a creeping narrative, may be justly doubted.

(a) Cicero *De Oratore*, lib. 2. No 5.

(b) See *Elements of Criticism*, chap. 2. part 1. sect. 7.

quire many words; yet behold the instruction itself. "The King's said servants shall also, at their coming to the parties of Spayne, diligently enquire for some conynge paynter having good experience in making and paynting of visages and portretures, and fuche oon they shall take with them to the place where the said Quunis make their abode, to the intent that the said paynter maye draw a picture of the visage and semblance of the said young Quine, as like unto her as it can or may be conveniently doon, which picture and image they shall substantially note, and marke in every pounte and circumstance, soo that it agree in similitude and likenesse as near as it may possible to the veray visage, countenance, and semblance of the said Quine; and in case they may perceyve that the paynter, at the furst or second making thereof, hath not made the same perfaite to her similytude and likenesse, or that he hath omitted any feature or circumstance, either in colours, or other proporcions of the said visage, then they shall cause the same paynter, or some other the most conyng paynter that they can gete, soo oftentimes to renewe and reforme the same picture, till it be made perfaite, and agreeable in every behalfe, with the very image and visage of the said Quine *." After this specimen so much to his Lordship's taste, one will not be surprisid at the flat-

* The following passage, copied from an Edinburgh news-paper, may almost rival this eloquent piece. After observing that the frost was intense, which, says the writer, renders travelling very dangerous either in town or country, he proceeds thus. "We would therefore recommend it to shopkeepers, and those whose houses are close upon the streets or lanes, to scatter ashes opposite to their doors, as it may be a means of preventing passengers from falling, which they are in great danger of doing at present, from the slippiness of the streets, where that practice is not followed."

ness of the historical style during that period. By that flatness of style his Lordship's history of Henry VII. sinks below the gravity and dignity of history; particularly in his similes, metaphors, and allusions, not less distant than flat. Of Perkin Warbeck and his followers he says, "that they were now like sand without lime, ill bound together." Again, "But Perkin, advised to keep his fire, which hitherto burned as it were upon green wood, alive with continual blowing, sailed again into Ireland." Again, "As in the tides of people once up, there want not commonly stirring winds to make them more rough, so this people did light upon two ringleaders or captains." Again, speaking of the Cornish insurgents, and of the causes that inflamed them, "But now these bubbles by much stirring began to meet, as they used to do on the top of water." Again, speaking of Perkin, "And as it fareth with smoak, that never loseth itself till it be at the highest, he did now before his end raise his stile, intytling himself no more Richard Duke of York, but Richard the Fourth, King of England." He descends sometimes so low as to play upon words; witness the following speech made for Perkin to the King of Scotland. "High and mighty King! your Grace may be pleased benignly to bow your ears to hear the tragedy of a young man that by right ought to hold in his hand the ball of a kingdom, but by fortune is made himself a ball, tossed from misery to misery, and from place to place." The following is a strangely forc'd allusion. Talking of Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, who had patronized Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, he says, "It is the strangest thing in the world, that the Lady Margaret should now, when other women give over child-bearing, bring furth two such monsters, being, at birth, not of nine or ten months, but of many years. And whereas other natural mothers bring furth children weak, and not able to help themselves, she bringeth furth tall striplings, able, soon
" after

"after their coming into the world, to bid battle to mighty kings." I should not have given so many instances of puerilities in composition; were they not the performance of a great philosopher. Low indeed must have been the taste of that age when it infected its greatest genius.

The perfection of historical composition, which writers at last attain to after wandering through various imperfect modes, is a relation of interesting facts connected with their motives and consequences. A history of that kind is truly a chain of causes and effects. The history of Thucydides, and still more that of Tacitus, are shining instances of that mode.

A language in its original poverty, being deficient in strength and variety, has nothing at command for enforcing a thought but to redouble the expression. Instances are without number in the Old Testament. "And they say, How doth God know, and is there knowledge in the Most High?" Again, "Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell to the children of Israel." Again, "I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries." Again, "To know wisdom and instruction, to perceive the words of understanding, to receive the instruction of wisdom." "She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff." "Put away from thee a forward mouth, and perverse lips put far from thee. Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eye-lids look straight before thee."

Eloquence was of a later date than the art of literary composition; for till the latter was improved, there were no models for studying the former. Cicero's oration for Roscius is composed in a style diffuse and highly ornamented; which, says Plutarch, was universally approved, because at that time the style of Asia, introduced into Rome with its luxury, was in high vogue. But Cicero, in a journey to Greece, where he leisurely studied Greek au-

thors, was taught to prune off superfluities, and to purify his style, which he did to a high degree of refinement. He introduced into his native tongue a sweetness, a grace, a majesty, that surpris'd the world, and even the Romans themselves. Cicero observes with great regret, that if ambition for power had not drawn Julius Cæsar from the bar to command legions, he would have become the most complete orator in the world. So partial are men to the profession in which they excel. Eloquence triumphs in a popular assembly, makes some figure in a court of law composed of many judges; very little where there is but a single judge, and none at all in a despotic government. Eloquence flourished in the republics of Athens and of Rome; and makes some figure at present in a British house of Commons.

The Greek stage has been justly admired among all polite nations. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides in particular are by all critics held to be perfect in their kind, excellent models for imitation, but far above rivalship. If the Greek stage was so early brought to maturity, it is a phenomenon not a little singular in the progress of arts. The Greek tragedy made a rapid progress from Thespis to Sophocles and Euripides, whose compositions are indeed the most complete that ever were exhibited in Greece; but whether they be really such masterpieces as is generally thought, will admit some doubt. The subject is curious; and I hope the candid reader will give attention to what follows.

No human voice could fill the Greek theatre, which was so spacious as to contain several thousands without crowding. A brass pipe was invented to strengthen the voice; but that invention suppressed the melody of pronunciation, by confining the voice to a harsh monotony. The pipe was not the only unpleasant circumstance: every actor wore a mask; for what end or purpose, is not explained. It may be true, that the expressions of the countenance could not be distinctly seen by those who occupied the back

back rows ; and a mask possibly was thought necessary in order to put all the citizens upon a level. But without prying into the cause, let us only figure an actor with a mask and a pipe. He may represent tolerably a simple incident or plain thought, such as are the materials of an Italian opera ; but the voice, countenance, and gestures, are indispensable in expressing refined sentiments, and the more delicate tones of passion.

Where then lies the charm in ancient tragedies that captivated all ranks of men ? Greek tragedies are more active than sentimental : they contain many sensible reflections on morals, manners, and upon life in general ; but no sentiments except what are plain and obvious. The subjects are of the simplest kind, such as give rise to the passions of hope, fear, love, hatred, envy, and revenge, in their most ordinary exertions : no intricate nor delicate situation to occasion any singular emotion ; no gradual swelling and subsiding of passion ; and seldom any conflict between different passions. I would not however be understood as meaning to depreciate Greek tragedies. They are indeed wonderful productions of genius, considering that the Greeks at that period were but beginning to emerge from roughness and barbarity into a taste for literature. The compositions of Eschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, must have been highly relished among a people who had no idea of any thing more perfect. We judge by comparison, and every work is held to be perfect that has no rival. It ought at the same time to be kept in view, that it was not the dialogue which chiefly enchanted the Athenians, nor variety in the passions represented, nor perfection in the actors, but machinery and pompous decoration, joined with exquisite music. That these particulars were carried to the greatest height, we may with certainty conclude from the extravagant sums bestow'd on them : the exhibiting a single tragedy was more expensive to the Athenians than their fleet or their army in any single campaign.

One would imagine, however, that these compositions were too simple to enchant for ever; as variety in action, sentiment, and passion is requisite, without which the stage will not continue long a favourite entertainment: and yet we find not a single improvement attempted after the days of Sophocles and Euripides. This may appear a matter of wonder at first view. But the wonder vanishes upon considering, that the manner of performance prevented absolutely any improvement. A fluctuation of passion and refined sentiments would have made no figure on the Grecian stage. Imagine the discording scene between Brutus and Cassius in Julius Cæsar to be there exhibited, or the handkerchief in the Moor of Venice: how slight would be their effect, when pronounced in a mask, and through a pipe? The workings of nature upon the countenance, and the flexions of voice expressive of various feelings, so deeply affecting in modern representation, would have been entirely lost. If a great genius had arisen with talents for composing a pathetic tragedy in perfection, he would have made no figure in Greece. An edifice must have been erected of a moderate size: new actors must have been trained to act with a bare face, and to pronounce in their own voice. And after all there remained a greater miracle still to be performed, viz. a total reformation of taste in the people of Athens. In one word, the simplicity of the Greek tragedy was suited to the manner of acting; and that manner excluded all improvements.

From these premisses an inference may with certainty be drawn, that delicacy of taste and feeling were but faintly known among the Greeks, even when they made the greatest figure. Music indeed may be successfully employ'd in a sentimental tragedy; but pomp and splendor of performance avail nothing. A spectator deeply affected is regardless of decoration. I appeal to the reproof scene between Hamlet and the Queen his mother: does any man of taste bestow the slightest attention on the beauty of the scenery? It would

would however be rash to involve in the same censure every Athenian. Do not pantomime-show, rope-dancing, and other such fashionable spectacles, draw multitudes from the deepest tragedies? And yet among us there are persons of taste not a few, who despise such spectacles as fit only for the mob, persons who never bow'd the knee to Baal. And if there were such persons in Athens, of which we have no reason to doubt, it proves the superiority of their taste: they had no example of more refined compositions than were exhibited on their stage; we have many.

With respect to comedy, it does not appear that the Greek comedy surpassed the tragedy in its progress toward perfection. Horace mentions three stages of Greek comedy. The first was well suited to the rough and coarse manners of the Greeks, when Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes wrote. These authors were not ashamed to represent on the stage real persons, not even disguising their names; of which we have a striking instance in a comedy of Aristophanes called *The Clouds*, where Socrates is introduced, and most contemptuously treated. This sort of comedy, sparing neither gods nor men, was restrained by the magistrates of Athens, so far as to prohibit persons to be named on the stage. This led writers to do what is done at present: the characters and manners of known persons were painted so much to the life, that there could be no mistake; and the satire was indeed heightened by this regulation; as it was an additional pleasure to find out the names that were meant in the representation. This was termed the *middle comedy*. But as there still remained too great scope for obloquy and licentiousness, a law was made prohibiting real events or incidents to be introduced upon the stage. This law happily banished satire against individuals, and confined it to manners and customs in general. Obedient to this law are the comedies of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, who flourished about 300 years before the Christian era. And this is termed the *third stage*
of

of Greek comedy. The comedies of Aristophanes, which still remain, err not less against taste than against decency. But we have good ground to believe, that the Greek comedy was considerably refined by Menander and his contemporaries; and we must rely upon collateral evidence, because we have very few remains of their works. Their works however were far from perfection, if we can draw any conjecture from their imitator Plautus, who wrote about a century later. Plautus was a writer of genius; and it may be reasonably supposed that his copies did not fall much short of the originals, at least in matters that can be faithfully copied; and he shows very little art, either in his compositions, or in the conduct of his pieces. With respect to the former, his plots are wondrous simple, very little varied, and very little interesting. The subject of almost every piece is a young man in love with a music-girl, desiring to purchase her from the procurer, and employing a favourite slave to cheat his father out of the price; and the different ways of accomplishing the cheat, is all the variety we find. In some few of his comedies the story rises to a higher tone, the music-girl being discovered to be the daughter of a free man, which removes every obstruction to a marriage between her and her lover. In the conduct of his pieces there is a miserable defect of art. Instead of unfolding the subject in the progress of the action, as is done by Terence, and by every modern writer, Plautus introduces a person for no other end but to explain the story to the audience. In one of his comedies, a household-god is so obliging as not only to unfold the subject, but to relate beforehand every particular that is to be represented, not excepting the catastrophe. Did not Plautus know, that it is pleasant to have our curiosity raised about what will happen next? In the course of the action, persons are frequently introduced who are heard talking to themselves on the open street. One would imagine the Greeks to have been great babblers, when they could not refrain soliloquies

liloquies even in public. Could Plautus have been so artless in the conduct of his pieces, had a more perfect model been exhibited to him by Menander or the other authors mentioned?

It is observed in Elements of Criticism (a), that when a language begins to receive some polish, and the meaning of words is tolerably ascertained, then it is that a play of words comes to be relished. At that period of the Roman language Plautus wrote. His wit consists almost entirely in a play of words, an eternal jingle, words brought together that have nearly the same sound, with different meanings, and words of different sounds that have the same meaning. As the Greek language had arrived to its perfection many years before, such false wit may be justly ascribed to Plautus himself, not to the Greeks from whom he copied. What was the period of that bastard wit in Greece, I know not; but it appears not to have been antiquated in Homer's days, witness the joke in the Odyssey, where Ulysses imposed upon Polyphemus by calling himself Houtis or No-man. Nor seems it to have been antiquated in the days of Euripides, who in his Cyclops repeats the same silly joke. The Roman genius soon purged their compositions of such infantine beauties; for in Terence, who wrote about fifty years later than Plautus, there is scarce a vestige of them. The dialogue beside of Terence is more natural and correct, not a word but to the purpose: Plautus is full of tautologies, and digressions very little to the purpose. In a word, considering the slow progress of arts, the Roman theatre, from the time of Plautus to that of Terence, made as rapid a progress as perhaps ever happened in any country. Aristotle defines comedy to be an imitation of light and trivial subjects provoking laughter. The comedies of

(a) Chap. 13.

Plautus correspond accurately to that definition: those of Terence rise to a higher tone.

Beside the disadvantages of the mask and pipe mentioned above, there are two causes that tended to keep back the Greek and Roman comedy from the perfection of its kind. The first is the slow progress of society among these nations, occasioned by debarring the female sex from it. Without a mixture of the two sexes society can never arrive at any degree of refinement, not to talk of perfection. That mixture brings to light every latent talent and every variety of character. To judge from ancient writers, man was a very plain being. Tacitus wrote when society between the sexes was abundantly free; and in no author before him is to be found any thing beyond the outlines of character. In ancient comedies there are misers, lovers, parasites, procurers; but the individuals of each class are cast in the same mould. In the *Rudens* of Plautus, it is true, a miser is painted with much anxiety about his hidden treasure, every trifling incident being converted by him into a cause of suspicion; but he is still the same miser that is painted by others, without any shade or singularity in the character. Homer is the only ancient that deserves to be excepted: his heroes have all courage; but courage in each is clearly of a different kind. Knowledge of an endless variety of character in the human species, acquired from unrestrained society, has enabled the moderns to enrich the theatre with new characters without end. What else is it but defect of knowledge in the dispositions of men that has confined Plautus and Terence, like the Italian comedy, to a very few characters?

Nothing is more evident than the superiority of Terence above Plautus in the art of writing; and considering that Terence is a later writer, nothing would appear more natural, if they did not copy the same originals. It may be owing to genius that Terence excell'd in purity of language, and propriety of dialogue; but how
account

account for his superiority over Plautus in the construction and conduct of a play? It will not certainly be thought, that Plautus would imitate the worst-constructed plays, leaving the best to those who should come after him. This difficulty has not occurred to any of the commentators, so far as I can recollect. Had the works of Menander and of his cotemperaries been preserved, they probably would have explained the mystery; which for want of that light will probably remain a mystery for ever.

Homer has for more than two thousand years been held the prince of poets. Such perfection in an author who flourished when arts were far short of maturity, is surprising, is miraculous. An author of genius (*a*) has endeavoured to account for this extraordinary phenomenon; and I willingly acknowledge, that he has exerted much industry, as well as invention; but in my apprehension without giving much satisfaction. The new light that is thrown above upon the Greek theatre has encouraged me to attempt a criticism on the Iliad, in order to judge whether Homer has so far anticipated the ordinary progress of nature as in a very early period to have arrived at the perfection of his art.

To form a good writer, genius and judgement must concur. Nature supplies the former; but to the latter instruction and imitation are essential. Shakespeare lived in an age that afforded him little opportunity to cultivate or improve his judgement; and tho' inimitable in every article that depends on genius, there are found many defects in the conduct of his plays, and in other particulars that require judgement ripen'd by experience. Homer lived in a rude age, little advanced in useful arts, and still less in civilization and enlarged benevolence. The nations engaged in the Trojan war are described by him as in a progress from the shepherd-state to that of agriculture. Frequent mention is made in the Iliad of the

(a) Essay on the life and writings of Homer.

most eminent men being shepherds. Andromaché in particular (a) mentions seven of her brethren who were slain by Achilles as they tended their father's flocks and herds. In that state, garments of woollen cloth were used; but the skins of beasts, the original clothing, were still worn as an upper garment: every chief in the Iliad appears in that dress. Such indeed was the simplicity of this early period, that a black ewe was promised by each chief to the man who would undertake to be a spy. In times of such simplicity, literature could not be far advanced; and it is a great doubt, whether there was at that time a single poem of the epic kind for Homer to imitate or improve upon. Homer is undoubtedly a wonderful genius, perhaps the greatest that ever existed: his fire, and the boldness of his conceptions, are inimitable. But in that early age it would fall little short of a real miracle, to find such ripeness of judgement, and correctness of execution, as in modern writers are the fruits of long experience, and progressive improvements, during the course of many centuries. Homer is far from being so ripe, or so correct. I shall mention but two or three particulars; for to dwell upon the imperfections of so eminent an author is not pleasant. The first is, that he reduces his heroes to be little better than puppets. Not one of them performs an action of éclat, but with the assistance of some deity: even Achilles himself is every where aided by superior powers. It is Jupiter who inspires Hector with boldness to perform the illustrious actions that are so finely described in the 15th book; and it is Jupiter who, changing sides, fills his heart with dismay. Glaucus, desperately wounded, supplicates Apollo, is miraculously healed, and returns to the battle perfectly sound. Hector, struck to the ground with a stone, and at the point of giving up the ghost, is cured by Apollo, and sent

(a) Book 6.

back to the battle with redoubled vigour. Homer resembles a sect of Christians, who hold, that a man can do nothing of himself, but that God does all. Can Homer's admirers be so blind as not to perceive, that this sort of machinery detracts from the dignity of his heroes, renders them less interesting, and less worthy of admiration? Homer however is deservedly such a favourite that we are prone to admit any excuse. In days of ignorance, people are much addicted to the marvellous. Homer himself, it may be justly supposed, was infected with that weakness; and he certainly knew that his hearers would be enchanted with every thing wonderful and out of the common course of nature. Another particular is his digressions without end, which draw our attention from the principal subject. I wish as good an apology could be made for them. Diomedes (*a*), for instance, meeting with Glaucus in the field of battle, and doubting from his majestic air whether he might not be an immortal, enquires who he was, declaring that he would not fight with a god. Glaucus lays hold of this very slight opportunity, in the very heat of action, to give a long history of his family. In the mean time the reader's patience is put to a trial, and his ardor cools. Agamemnon (*b*) desiring advice how to resist the Trojans, Diomedes springs forward; but before he offers advice, gives the history of all his progenitors, and of their characters, in a long train. And after all, what was the sage advice that required such a preface? It was, that Agamemnon should exhort the Greeks to fight bravely. At any rate, was Diomedes so little known as to make it proper to suspend the action at so critical a juncture for a genealogical history? There is a third particular which justly merits censure; and that is an endless number of mi-

(*a*) Book 6.

(*b*) Book 14.

minute circumstances, especially in the description of battles, where they are the most improper. One capital beauty of an epic poem is the selection of such incidents and circumstances as make a deep impression, keeping out of view every thing low or familiar (a). An account of a single battle employs the whole fifth book of the Iliad, and a great part of the sixth: yet in the whole there is no general action; but unknown warriors, whom we never heard of before, killed at a distance with an arrow or a javelin; and every wound described with anatomical accuracy. The whole seventeenth book is employ'd in the contest about the dead body of Patroclus, stuffed with minute circumstances below the dignity of an epic poem. In such scenes the reader is fatigued with endless particulars; and has nothing to support him but the melody of Homer's versification. Gratitude would prompt one to apologise for an author who affords so much pleasure: the only apology I can think of for the particulars last mentioned is, that Homer had no good models to copy after; and that without good models it is in vain to expect maturity of judgement. In a word, Homer was a blazing star, and the more to be admired because he blazed in an obscure age. But that he should in no degree be tainted with the imperfections of such an age is a wild thought: it is scarce possible, but by supposing him to be more than man.

Particular causes that advance the progress of fine arts, as well as of useful arts, are mentioned in the first part of this Sketch, and to these I refer.

Having traced the progress of the fine arts toward maturity in a summary way, the decline of these arts comes next in order. An art, in its progress toward maturity, is greatly promoted by emulation; and after arriving at maturity, its downfall is not less

(a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 232. edit. 5.

promoted by it. It is difficult to judge of perfection but by comparison; and an artist, ambitious to outstrip his predecessors, cannot submit to be an imitator, but must strike out something new, which in an art advanced to ripeness, seldom fails to be a degeneracy. This cause of the decline of the fine arts, I shall endeavour to illustrate by various instances. The perfection of vocal music is to accompany passion, and to enforce sentiment. In ancient Greece the province of music was well understood; which being confined within its proper sphere, had an enchanting influence. Harmony at that time was very little cultivated, because it was of very little use: melody reaches the heart, and it is by it chiefly that a sentiment is enforced, or a passion sooth'd: harmony on the contrary reaches the ear only; and it is a matter of undoubted experience, that the most melodious airs admit but of very simple harmony. Artists in later times, ignorant why harmony was so little regarded by the ancients, apply'd themselves seriously to its cultivation; and they have been wonderfully successful. But they have been successful at the expence of melody; which in modern compositions, generally speaking, is lost amid the blaze of harmony. These compositions tickle the ear by the luxury of complicated sounds, but make seldom any impression on the heart. The Italian opera in its form resembles the Greek tragedy, from which it is evidently copied; but very little in substance. In the latter, music being made subservient to sentiment, the dialogue is nervous and sublime: in the former, the whole weight is laid on music, and the dialogue, devoid of sentiment, is weak and spiritless. Restless man knows no golden mean, but will be attempting innovations without end *. By the same ambition,

* Corelli excels all the other moderns in combining harmony with melody. His melody could not be richer without impoverishing the harmony; and his harmony could

bition, architecture has visibly declined from its perfection. The Ionic was the favourite order when architecture was in its height of glory. The Corinthian order came next; which, in attempting greater perfection, has deviated from the true simplicity of nature; and the deviation is still greater in the Composite order (a). With respect to literary productions, the first essays of the Romans were very imperfect. We may judge of this from Plautus, whose compositions are abundantly rude, tho' much admired by his cotemporaries, being the best that existed at that time. The exalted spirit of the Romans hurried them on to the grand and beautiful; and literary productions of all kinds were in perfection when Augustus reigned. In attempting still greater perfection, the Roman compositions became a strange jumble of inconsistent parts; they were tumid and pompous, and at the same time full of antitheses, conceit, and tinsel wit. Every thing new in the fine arts pleases, tho' less perfect than what we are accustomed to; and for that reason such compositions were generally relished. We see not by what gradual steps writers after the time of Augustus deviated from the patterns that were before them; for no book of any moment after that time is preserved till we come down to Seneca, in whose works nature and simplicity give place to artificial thought and bastard wit. He was a great corrupter of the Roman taste; and after him nothing was relished but brilliant strokes of fancy, with very little regard to sentiment: even Virgil and Cicero made no figure in comparison. Lucan has a forc'd elevation of thought and style, very difficult to

could not be richer without impoverishing the melody. And therefore if harmony is requisite in any considerable degree, the productions of that author may be pronounced perfect.

(a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 206. edit. 5.

be supported; and accordingly he sinks often into puerile reflections; witness his encomium on the river Po, which, says he, would equal the Danube, had it the same number of tributary streams. Quintilian, a writer of true and classical taste, who was protected and encouraged by Vespasian, attempted to stem the tide of false writing. His rhetoric is composed in an elegant style; and his observations contain every delicacy of the critical art. At the same time flourished Tacitus, possessing a more extensive knowledge of the nature of man than any other author ancient or modern, if Shakespeare be not excepted. His style is original, concise, compact, and comprehensive; and in what is properly called his history, perfectly correct and beautiful. He has been imitated by several, but never equalled by any. Brutus is said to be the last of the Romans for love of liberty: Quintilian and Tacitus may be said to be the last of the Romans for literary genius. Pliny the younger is no exception: his style is affected, turgid, and full of childish brilliancy. Seneca and Pliny are proper examples of writers who study show more than substance, and who make sense yield to sound. The difference between these authors and those of the Augustan age resembles the difference between Greek and Italian music. Music among the Greeks limited itself to the employment to which it is destin'd by nature, viz. to be the handmaid of sense, to enforce, enliven, or sweeten, a sentiment. In the Italian opera the mistress is degraded to be the handmaid; and harmony triumphs, with very little regard to sentiment.

Another great cause that precipitates the downfall of every fine art is despotism. The reason is obvious; and there is a dismal example of it in Rome, particularly with regard to eloquence. We learn from a dialogue accounting for the corruption of the Roman eloquence, that in the decline of the art it became fashionable to stuff harangues with impertinent poetical quotations, without any view but ornament merely; and this also was long fashionable in

France. It happened unluckily for the Romans, and for the world, that the fine arts were at their height in Rome, and not much upon the decline in Greece, when despotism put an end to the republic. Augustus, it is true, retarded their fall, particularly that of literature; it being the politic of his reign to hide despotism, and to give his government an air of freedom. His court was a school of urbanity, where people of genius acquired that delicacy of taste, that elevation of sentiment, and that purity of expression, which characterize the writers of his time. He honoured men of learning, admitted them to his table, and was bountiful to them. It would be painful to follow the decline of the fine arts in Rome to their total extirpation. The tyranny of Tiberius, and of subsequent emperors, broke at last the elevated and independent spirit of the brave Romans, reduced them to abject slavery, and left not a spark of genius *. The science of law is the only exception, as it flourished even in the worst of times: the Roman lawyers were a respectable body, and less the object of jealousy than men of power and extensive landed property. Among the Greeks also, a conquered people, the fine arts decay'd; but not so rapidly as at Rome;

* A singular persecution was carried on by Pope Gregory, most improperly surnamed the Great, against the works of Cicero, Titus Livius, and Cornelius Tacitus, which in every corner of Christendom were publicly burnt; and from that time there has not been seen a complete copy of any of these authors. This happen'd in the sixth century: so soon had the Romans fallen, from the perfection of taste and knowledge, to the most humbling barbarity. Nor was that the only persecution of books on the score of religion. Many centuries before, a similar instance happened in China, directed by a foolish emperor. The Alexandrian library was twice consumed by fire, once in the time of Julius Cæsar, and once in the time of the Calif Omar. What a profusion of knowledge was lost past redemption! And yet, upon the whole, it seems doubtful, whether the moderns have suffered by these events. At what corner of a library shall a man begin where he sees an infinity of books, choice ones too? Even the most resolute would be deterred from reading at all.

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the Greeks, farther removed from the seat of government, being less within the reach of a Roman tyrant. During their depression they were guilty of the most puerile conceits; witness verses composed in the form of an axe, an egg, wings, and such like. The style of Greek authors in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian is unequal, obscure, stiff, and affected. Lucian is the only exception I am acquainted with.

We need scarce any other cause but despotism to account for the decline of statuary and painting in Greece. These arts had arrived at their utmost perfection about the time of Alexander the Great; and from that time they declined gradually with the vigour of a free people; for Greece was now enslaved by the Macedonian power. It may in general be observed, that when a nation becomes stationary in that degree of power which it acquires from its constitution and situation, the national spirit subsides, and men of talents become rare. It is still worse with a nation that is sunk below its former power and pre-eminence; and worst of all when it is reduced to slavery. Other causes concurred to accelerate the downfall of the arts mentioned. Greece in the days of Alexander was filled with statues of excellent workmanship; and there being little demand for more, the later statuary were reduced to heads and busts. At last the Romans put a total end both to statuary and painting in Greece, by plundering it of its finest pieces; and the Greeks, exposed to the avarice of the conquerors, bestow'd no longer any money on the fine arts. Winckelman, overlooking the causes mentioned, borrows from Velleius Paterculus a reason for the decline of the fine arts in Greece, not a little ridiculous. "Naturaque, quod summo studio petatum est, ascendit in summum; difficilisque in perfecto mora est; naturaliterque, quod procedere non potest, recedit (a)." "The idea (says Winckelman) of

(a) Roman History, lib. 1.

“ beauty could not be made more perfect; and those arts which
“ could not advance farther, become retrograde, by a fatality at-
“ tending all human things, viz. that if they cannot mount, they
“ must fall down, because stability is not a quality of any created
“ thing.”

The decline of the fine arts in Rome is by a writer of taste and elegance ascribed to a cause different from any above mentioned, a cause that overwhelms manhood as well as the fine arts where-ever it prevails; and that is opulence, joined with its faithful attendants avarice and luxury. It would be doing injustice to that author to refuse him in his native language. “ Priscis temporibus, quum ad-
“ huc nuda virtus placeret, vigeant artes ingenuæ; summumque
“ certamen inter homines erat, ne quid profuturum seculis diu la-
“ teret. Itaque, Hercules! omnium herbarum succos Democri-
“ tus expressit: et ne lapidum virgultorumque vis lateret, ætatem
“ inter experimenta consumpsit. Eudoxus quidem in cacumine
“ excellissimi montis consenuit, ut astrorum cœlique motus de-
“ prehenderet: et Chrysippus, ut ad inventionem sufficeret, ter
“ helleboro animum deterfit. Verum ut ad plastas converterar,
“ Lysippum statuæ unius lineamentis inhærentem inopia extinxit:
“ et Myron, qui penè hominum animas ferarumque ære compre-
“ henderat, non invenit heredem. At nos, vino scortisque demersi,
“ ne paratas quidem artes audemus cognoscere; sed accusatores
“ antiquitatis, vitia tantum docemus, et discimus. Ubi est dia-
“ lectica? ubi astronomia? ubi sapientiæ consultissima via?
“ Quis unquam venit in templum, et votum fecit si ad eloquen-
“ tiam pervenisset? quis, si philosophiæ fontem invenisset? Ac
“ ne bonam quidem mentem, aut bonam valetudinem petunt:
“ sed statim, antequam limen capitolii tangunt, aliis donum pro-
“ mittit si propinquum divitem extulerit; alius, si thesaurum ef-
“ foderit; alius, si ad trecenties H—S. salvus pervenerit. Ipse
“ senatus, recti bonique præceptor, mille pondo auri capitolio
“ promittere

“promittere solet: et ne quis dubitet pecuniam concupiscere, Jo-
 “vem quoque peculio exorat. Nolito ergo mirari, si pictura de-
 “fecit, quum omnibus diis hominibusque formosior videatur
 “massa auri, quam quidquid Apelles Phidiasve fecerunt * (a).”
 In England, the fine arts are far from such perfection as to suffer
 by opulence. They are in a progress, it is true, toward matu-

* “In ancient times, when naked virtue had her admirers, the liberal arts were
 “in their highest vigour; and there was a generous contest among men, that no-
 “thing of real and permanent advantage should long remain undiscovered. De-
 “mocritus extracted the juice of every herb and plant, and lest the virtue of a
 “single stone or twig should escape him, he consumed a lifetime in experiments.
 “Eudoxus, immersed in the study of astronomy, spent his age upon the top of a
 “mountain. Chrysippus, to stimulate his inventive faculty, thrice purified his ge-
 “nius with hellebore. To turn to the imitative arts: Lysippus, while labouring
 “on the forms of a single statue, perished from want. Myron, whose powerful
 “hand gave to the brass almost the soul of man, and animals, — at his death
 “found not an heir! Of us of modern times what shall we say? Immersed in
 “drunkenness and debauchery, we want the spirit to cultivate those arts which we
 “possess. We inveigh against the manners of antiquity; we study vice alone;
 “and vice is all we teach. Where now is the art of reasoning? where astronomy?
 “where is the right path of wisdom? What man now-a-days is heard in our
 “temples to make a vow for the attainment of eloquence, or for the discovery of
 “the fountain of true philosophy? Nor do we even pray for health of body, or
 “a sound understanding. One, while he has scarce entered the porch of the
 “temple, devotes a gift in the event of the death of a rich relation; another prays
 “for the discovery of a treasure; a third for a ministerial fortune. The senate
 “itself, the exemplary preceptor of what is good and laudable, has promised a
 “thousand pounds of gold to the capitol; and, to remove all reproach from the
 “crime of avarice, has offered a bribe to Jupiter himself. How should we won-
 “der that the art of painting has declined, when, in the eyes both of the gods
 “and men, there is more beauty in a mass of gold, than in all the works of Phidias
 “and Apelles?”

(a) Petronius Arbiter.

rity ; but, gardening alone excepted, they proceed in a very slow pace.

There is a particular cause that never fails to undermine a fine art in a country where it is brought to perfection, abstracting from every one of the causes above mentioned. In the first part of the present sketch it is remarked, that nothing is more fatal to an art or to a science than a performance so much superior to all of the kind as to extinguish emulation. This remark is exemplified in the great Newton, who, having surpassed all the ancients, has not left to his countrymen even the faintest hope of rivalling him ; and to that cause is attributed the visible decline of mathematics in Great Britain. The same cause would have been fatal to the arts of statuary and painting among the Greeks, even tho' they had continued a free people. The decay of painting in modern Italy is probably owing to the same cause : Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, &c. are lofty oaks that bear down young plants in their neighbourhood, and intercept from them the sunshine of emulation. Had the art of painting made a slower progress in Italy, it might have there continued in vigour to this day. Velleius Paterculus says judiciously, "*Ut primo ad consequendos quos priores ducimus accendimur ; ita, ubi aut præteriri aut æquari eos posse desperavimus, studium cum spe fenescit ; et quod adsequi non potest, sequi definit : præteritoque eo in quo eminere non possumus, aliquid in quo nitamur conquirimus **."

The decline of an art or science proceeding from the foregoing cause, is the most rapid where a strict comparison can be instituted

* " As at first we are excited to emulate those superior models, so when once we have lost the hope of excelling, or even of equalling them, our ambition fails us with our hopes : we cease to pursue what we cannot attain, and neglecting that study in which we are debarred from arriving at excellence, we search for a different field of emulation."

between the works of different masters. The superiority of Newton above every other mathematician can be ascertained with precision; and hence the sudden decline of that science in Great Britain. In Italy a talent for painting continued many years in vigour, because no painter appeared with such superiority of genius as to carry perfection into every branch of the art. As one surpassed in designing, one in colouring, one in graceful attitudes, there was still scope for emulation. But when at last there was not a single perfection but what one or other master had excelled in, from that period the art began to languish. Architecture continued longer in vigour than painting, because the principles of comparison in the former are less precise than in the latter. The artist who could not rival his predecessors in an established mode, sought out a new mode for himself, which, tho' perhaps less elegant or perfect, was for a time supported by novelty.

Corruption of the Latin tongue makes a proper appendix to the decline of the fine arts in Rome. That the Latin tongue did not long continue in purity after the Emperor Augustus, is certain; and all writers agree, that the cause of its early corruption was a continual influx into Rome of men to whom the Latin was a foreign language. The reason is plausible; but whether solid may justly be doubted. In all countries there are provincial dialects; which however tend not to corrupt the language of the capital, because they are carefully avoided by all who pretend to speak properly; and accordingly the multitude of provincials who flock to Paris and London have no effect to debase the language. The same probably was the case in old Rome, especially with respect to strangers whose native tongue was totally different from that of Rome: their imperfect manner of speaking Latin might be excused, but certainly was not imitated. Slaves in Rome had little conversation with their masters, except in receiving orders or reproof; which had no tendency to vitiate the Latin tongue. The corruption

corruption of that tongue, and at last its death and burial as a living language, were the result of two combined causes ; of which the early prevalence of the Greek language in Rome is the first. Latin was native to the Romans only, and to the inhabitants of Latium. The languages of the rest of Italy were numerous : the Messapian was the mother-tongue in Apulia, the Etruscan in Tuscany and Umbria, the Greek in Magna Græcia, the Celtic in Lombardy and Liguria, &c. &c. Latin had arrived at its purity not many years before the reign of Augustus ; and had not taken deep root in those parts of Italy where it was not the mother-tongue, when Greek came to be the fashionable language among people of rank, as French is in Europe at present. Greek, the storehouse of learning, prevailed in Rome, even in Cicero's time ; of which he himself bears testimony in his oration for the poet Archias. " Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus : Latina suis finibus, exiguis fane, continentur." And for that reason Atticus is warmly solicited by him to write the history of his consulship in Greek. Thus Latin, jostled by Greek out of its place, was left to inferiors ; and probably would have sunk to utter oblivion, even though the republic had continued in vigour. But the chief cause was the despotism of the Roman government, which proved the destruction of the fine arts, and of literature in particular. In a country of so many different languages the Latin tongue could not be preserved in purity, but by a constant perusal of Roman classics : but these were left to rot in libraries, a dark cloud of ignorance having overspread the whole empire. Every person carelessly spoke the language acquired in the nursery ; and people of different tongues being mixed under one government, without a common standard, fell gradually into a sort of mixed language, which every one made a shift to understand. The irruption of many barbarous nations into Italy, several of whom settled there, added to the jargon. And that jargon, composed of many heterogeneous

rogeneous parts, was in process of time purified to the tongue that is now native to all the inhabitants of Italy.

In a history of the Latin tongue, it ought not to be overlooked, that it continued long in purity among the Roman lawyers. The science of law was in Rome more cultivated than in any other country. The books writ upon that science in Latin were numerous; and, being highly regarded, were the constant study of every man who aspired to be an eminent lawyer. Neither could such men have any bias to the Greek tongue, as law was little cultivated in Greece. Thus it happened, that the Latin tongue, so far as concerns law, was preserved in purity, even to the time of the Emperor Justinian.

Greek was preserved in purity much longer than Latin. The same language was spoken through all Greece, with some slight varieties in dialect. It was brought to great perfection and firmly rooted during the prosperous days of Greece. Its classics were numerous, and the study of every person who pretended to literature*. Now tho' the free and manly spirit of the Greeks yielded to Roman despotism, yet while any appetite for literature remained, their invaluable classics were a standard, which preserved the language in purity. But ignorance at length became universal, and the Greek classics ceased to be a standard, being buried in libraries, as the Roman classics had been for centuries. In that state, the Greek tongue could not fail to degenerate, among an ignorant and servile people, who had no longer any ambition to act well, write well, or speak well. And yet after all, that beautiful tongue, far beyond a rival, has suffered less alteration than any other ever did in similar circumstances; one cause of which is, that to

* There still remain about three thousand Greek books: of Latin books not above sixty.

this day the Greeks live separate from their masters the Turks, and have little commerce with them.

From the fate of the Latin tongue, an observation is drawn by many writers, that all languages are in a continual flux, changing from age to age without end. And such as are fond of fame, deplore it as a heavy misfortune, that the language in which they write will soon become obsolete and unintelligible. But it is a common error in reasoning, to found a general conclusion upon a single fact. In its progress toward perfection, a language is continually improving, and therefore continually changing. But supposing a language to have acquired its utmost perfection, I see nothing that should necessarily occasion any change: on the contrary, the classical books in that language become a standard for writing and speaking, to which every man of taste and figure conforms himself. Such was the case of the Greek tongue, till that people were brutified by despotism: the Italian has continued in perfection more than three centuries, and the French more than one. The English language has not yet acquired all the purity it is susceptible of: but when there is no place for further improvements, there seems little doubt of its becoming stationary, like the languages now mentioned. I bar always such a revolution as eradicates knowledge, and reduces a people to a state of barbarity. In an event so dismal, the destruction of classical books, and of a pure language, will not be the chief calamity: they will be little regretted in the universal wreck. In the mean time, to a writer of genius in a polished nation it cannot but be a charming prospect, that his works will stand and fall with his country. To make such a writer exert his talents for purifying his mother-tongue, and for adding to the number and reputation of its classics, what nobler encitement, than the certainty of being transmitted to posterity, and welcomed by every person of taste through all ages!

As before the invention of printing writers could have nothing

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in view but reputation and praise, they endeavoured to give the utmost perfection to their compositions. They at the same time studied brevity, in order that their works might be diffused through many hands; for the expence of transcribing great volumes could not be afforded by every reader. The art of printing has made a great change: the opportunity it furnishes to multiply copies has degraded writing to be a lucrative employment. Authors now study to swell their works, in order to swell the price; and being in a hurry for money, they neglect the precept of Horace, *Nonum prematur in annum*. Take for example the natural history of Aldrovandus, in many folio volumes. After filling his common-place book with passages from every author ancient and modern, to the purpose and not to the purpose, he sits down to compose, bent to transfuse into his book every article thus painfully collected. For example, when he introduces the ox, the cock, or any other animal; far from confining himself to its natural history, he omits nothing that has been said of it in books where it has been occasionally introduced, not even excepting tales for amusing children: he mentions all the superstitious notions concerning it, every poetical comparison drawn from it, the use it has served in hieroglyphics and in coats-armorial; in a word, all the histories and all the fables in which it has been named. Take another instance from a German or Dutch chronologer, whose name has escaped me, and which I give in a translation from the Latin, to prevent the bias that one has for a learned language.

“ Samson was the same with the Theban Hercules; which appears from the actions attributed to each of them, especially from the following, That Hercules, unarmed, is said to have suffocated the Nemean lion with a squeeze of his arms: Samson unarmed did the same, by tearing a lion to pieces; and Josephus says, that he did not tear the lion, but put out his breath with a squeeze; which could be done, and was done by Scu-

" tileus the wrestler, as reported by Suidas. David also, unarmed,
 " tore to pieces a lion, 1 Samuel, chap. 17.; and Benaiah the son
 " of Jehojada also slew a lion, 2 Samuel, chap. 23. ver. 20. More-
 " over we read, that Samson having caught three hundred foxes,
 " tied lighted firebrands to their tails, and drove them into the
 " standing corn of the Philistines, by which both the flocks and
 " standing corn, with the vineyards and olives, were burnt up.
 " Many think it incredible, that three hundred foxes should be
 " caught by one man; as the fox, being the most cunning of all
 " animals, would not suffer itself to be easily taken. Accord-
 " ingly Oppian, a Greek poet who writes upon hunting, asserts, that
 " no fox will suffer itself to be taken in a gin or a net; tho' we are
 " taught the contrary by Martial, lib. 10. epig. 37.

" *Hic olidum clamoribus ages in retia vulpem.*

" In India, eagles, hawks, and ravens, are taught to hunt foxes,
 " as we are informed by Olianus, Var. hist. lib. 9. cap. 26. They
 " are also caught by traps and snares, and in covered pits, as
 " wolves are, and other large animals. Nor is it wonderful that
 " such a multitude of foxes were caught by Samson, considering
 " that Palestine abounded with foxes. He had hunters without
 " number at command; and he was not confined in time. The
 " fame of that exploit was spread far and near. Even among the
 " Romans there were vestiges of it, as appears from Ovid, Fast.
 " lib. 9. ver. 681. In one Roman festival, armed foxes were let
 " loose in the circus; which Ovid, in the place quoted, says, was
 " done in memory of the Carfolan fox, which, having destroy'd
 " many hens belonging to a country-woman, was caught by her,
 " and punished as follows. She wrapped up the fox in hay, which
 " she set fire to; and the fox being let go, fled through the stand-
 " ing corn, and set it on fire. There can be no doubt but that
 " this

“ this festival was a vestige of Samson’s foxes, not only from congruity of circumstances, but from the time of celebration, which was the month of April, the time of harvest in Palestine. See more about foxes in Burman’s works.” Not to mention the ridiculous arguments of this writer to prove Samson to be the same with the Theban Hercules, nor the childish wanderings from that subject, every one must be sensible of his having overlooked the chief difficulty. However well fixed the fire-brands might be, it is not easily conceivable, that the foxes, who would naturally fly to their lurking-holes, could much injure the corn, or the olive trees. And it is as little conceivable, what should have moved Samson to employ foxes, when, by our author’s supposition, he had men at command, much better qualified than foxes for committing waste. This author would have saved himself much idle labour had he embraced a very probable opinion, that if the translation be not erroneous, the original text must be corrupted. But enough, and more than enough, of these writers. Maturity of taste has banished such absurdities; and at present, happily, books are less bulky, and more to the purpose, than formerly.

It is observed above (a), that in a country thinly peopled, where the same person must for bread undertake different employments, the people are knowing and conversable; but stupid and ignorant in a populous country, where industry and manufactures abound. That observation holds not with respect to the fine arts. It requires so much genius to copy even a single figure, whether in painting or in sculpture, as to prevent the operator from degenerating into a brute. The great exertion of genius, as well as of invention, required in grouping figures, and in imitating human

(a) First section of the present Sketch.

actions, tends to invigorate those faculties with respect to every subject, and of course to form a man of parts.

Such sketches of the history of man as tend the most to explain his nature, are chiefly insisted on in this work. The history of music is entertaining, that branch especially which compares ancient and modern music; and accordingly I have occasionally handled that branch above. The other branches fall not properly within my plan; because they seem to afford little opening into human nature. There is one article however, which regard to my native country will not suffer me to omit. We have in Scotland a multitude of songs tender and pathetic, expressive of love in its varieties of hope, fear, success, despondence, and despair. The style of the music is wild and irregular, extremely pleasant to the natives, but little relished by the bulk of those who are accustomed to the regularity of the Italian style. None but men of genius, who study nature, and break loose from the thralldom of custom, esteem that music. It was a favourite of the late Geminiani, whose compositions show no less delicacy of taste than superiority of genius, and it is warmly praised by Alessandro Tassoni, the celebrated author of *Secchia Rapita*. Discourfing of ancient and modern music, and quoting from various authors the wonderful effects produced by some modern compositions, he subjoins the following passage. “Noi ancora possiamo connumerar trà nostri, “Jacopo Rè de Scozia, che non pur cose sacre compose in canto, “ma trovò da festello una nuova musica lamentevole e mesta, “differente da tutte l’altre. Nel che poi è stato imitato da Carlo “Gesualdo Principe di Venosa, che in questa nostra età hà illustrata anch’ egli la musica con nuova mirabili invenzioni (a) *.”

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(a) *Pensieri diversi*, lib. 10. cap. 23.

* “We may reckon among the composers of the moderns, James King of Scotland, who not only composed sacred songs, but was himself the *inventor* of

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The king mentioned must be James I. of Scotland, the only one of our kings who seems to have had any remarkable taste in the fine arts; and the music can be no other than the songs mentioned above. These are commonly thought to be the composition of David Rizzio, because he was an Italian and a musician; but erroneously, as we now discover from Tassoni. That King was eminent for poetry no less than for music. He is praised for the former by Bishop Leslie, one of our historians, in the following words: "Patrii carminis gloria nulli secundus." We have many poems ascribed by tradition to that king; one in particular, *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, is a ludicrous poem, describing low manners with no less propriety than sprightliness.

Useful arts will never be neglected in a country where there is any police; for every man finds his account in them. Fine arts are more precarious. They are not relished but by persons of taste, who are rare; and such as can spare great sums for supporting them, are still more rare. For that reason they will never flourish in any country, unless patronized by the sovereign, or by men of power and opulence. They merit such patronage as one of the springs of government: and a capital spring they make, by multiplying amusements, and humanizing manners; upon which account they have always been encouraged by good princes.

"a new style of music, plaintive and pathetic, different from all others. In this manner of composition he has been imitated in our times by Carlo Gesualdo Prince of Venosa, who has illustrated that style of music with new and wonderful invention."

SKETCH

S K E T C H VI.

Progress of the FEMALE SEX.

THE history of the female sex, a capital branch of the history of man, comprehends great variety of matter, curious and interesting. But sketches are my province, not complete histories; and I propose in the present sketch to trace the gradual progress of women, from their low state in savage tribes, to their elevated state in civilized nations.

With regard to the outlines, whether of internal disposition, or of external figure, men and women are precisely the same. Nature, however, intending them for mates, has given them characters different, but concordant, so as to produce together delicious harmony. The man, naturally more robust, is fitted for severe labour and for field-exercises: the woman for sedentary occupations; and particularly for nursing children. To that difference the mind also contributes. A boy is always running about; delights in a top or a ball; and rides upon a stick for want of a horse. A girl has less inclination to move: her first amusement is a baby; which she delights to dress and undress. The man, bold and vigorous, is qualified for being a protector: the woman, delicate and timid, requires protection. The man, as a protector, is directed by nature to govern: the woman, conscious of inferiority, is disposed to obedience. Their intellectual powers correspond to the destination of nature: men have penetration and solid judgement to fit them for governing:

governing : women have sufficient understanding to make a decent figure under good government ; a greater proportion would excite dangerous rivalry. Add another capital difference of character : the gentle and insinuating manners of the female sex tend to soften the roughness of the other sex ; and where-ever women are indulged with any freedom, they polish sooner than men.

These are not the only particulars that distinguish the sexes. With respect to matrimony, it is the privilege of the male, as superior and protector, to make a choice : the female preferred has no privilege but barely to consent or to refuse. Nature fits them for these different parts : the male is bold, the female bashful. Hence among all nations it is the practice for men to court, and for women to be courted : which holds also among many other animals, probably among all that pair.

Another distinction is equally visible : The master of a family is immediately connected with his country : his wife, his children, his servants, are immediately connected with him, and with their country through him only. Women accordingly have less patriotism than men ; and less bitterness against the enemies of their country.

The peculiar modesty of the female sex is also a distinguishing circumstance. Nature hath provided them with it as their chief defence against the artful solicitations of the other sex before marriage, and also as the chief support of conjugal fidelity. It is held to be their capital virtue ; and a woman who surrenders her chastity is universally despised ; tho' in a man chastity is scarce held to be a virtue, except in the married state. But of that more fully afterwards.

A fundamental article in the present sketch is matrimony ; and it has been much controverted, whether it be an appointment of nature, or only of municipal law. Many writers have exercised their talents in that controversy, but without giving any satisfaction

faction to a judicious enquirer. If I mistake not, it may be determined upon solid principles; and as it is of importance in the history of man, the reader, I am hopeful, will not be disgusted at the length of the argument.

Many writers hold, that women were originally common; that animal love was gratified as among horses and horned cattle; and that matrimony was not known till nations grew in some degree to be orderly and refined. I select Cicero as an author of authority: "Nam fuit quoddam tempus, cum in agris homines pascim, bestiarum more, vagabantur, et sibi victu ferino vitam propagabant: nec ratione animi quicquam sed pleraque viribus corporis administrabant. Nondum divinæ religionis non humani officii ratio colebatur. Nemo legitimas viderat nuptias, non certos quisquam inspexerat liberos * (a)." Pliny, in support of that doctrine, informs us, that the Garamantes, an African nation, lived promiscuously together, without any notion of matrimony. Among the Auses, a people of Libya, as Herodotus says, matrimony was not known, and men cohabited with women indifferently, like other animals. A boy educated by his mother was at a certain age admitted to an assembly of the men, and the man he clung to was reputed his father. Justin and other authors report, that before Cecrops, who reigned in Attica about 1600 years before Christ, marriage was not known in Greece; and that the burden of children lay upon the mother.

* "For there was a time, when men, like the brutes, roamed abroad over the earth, and fed like wild beasts upon other animals. Then reason bore no sway, but all was ruled by superior strength. The ties of religion, and the obligations of morality, were then unfelt. Lawful marriage was unknown, and no father was certain of his offspring."

(a) De Inventione, lib. 1.

Before

Before entering directly into the matter, it is proper to remove, if possible, the bias of these great names. The practice of the Garamantes and of the Auses is mentioned by Pliny and Herodotus as singular; and were it better vouched than it is, it would avail very little against the practice of all other nations. Little weight can be laid upon Pliny's evidence in particular, considering what he reports in the same chapter of the Blemmyans, that they had no head, and that the mouth and eyes were in the breast. Pliny at the same time, as well as Herodotus, being very deficient in natural knowledge, were grossly credulous; and cannot be rely'd on with respect to any thing strange or uncommon. As to what is reported of ancient Greece, Cecrops possibly prohibited polygamy, or introduced some other matrimonial regulation, which by writers might be mistaken for a law appointing matrimony. However that be, one part of the report is undoubtedly false; for it will be made evident afterward, that in the hunter-state, or even in that of shepherds, it is impracticable for any woman, by her own industry alone, to rear a numerous issue. If this be at all possible, it can only be in the torrid zone, where people live on fruits and roots, which are produced in plenty with very little labour. Upon that account Diodorus Siculus is less blameable for listening to a report, that the inhabitants of Taprobana, supposed to be the island of Ceylon, never marry, but that women are used promiscuously. But as there is no such practice known at present in the East Indies, there is no just ground to believe, that it ever was the practice; and the East Indies were so little known to the ancient Greeks, that their authors cannot be much rely'd on in the accounts they give of that distant region. The opinion of Cicero may seem to have more weight at first view; and yet a single observation will reduce it to nothing. The notions of that author upon the primitive state of man must confessedly be exceedingly crude, when he denies to savages any sense of religion or of moral duty.

duty. Ought we to rely more on him, when he denies, that they have any notion of matrimony? Cæsar's account of the ancient Britons approaches the nearest to a loose commerce with women, tho' in the main it is good evidence against the opinion of Cicero. It was common, he says, for a number of brothers, or other near relations, to use their wives promiscuously. The offspring however were not common; for each man maintained the children that were produced by his own wife. Herodotus reports the same of the Massagetæ.

Laying thus aside the great names of Cicero, Herodotus, and Pliny, the field lies open to a fair and impartial investigation. And as the means provided by nature for continuing the race of other animals may probably throw light upon the œconomy of nature with respect to man, I begin with that article, which has not engaged the attention of naturalists so much as it ought to do. With respect to animals whose nourishment is grass, pairing would be of no use: the female feeds herself and her young at the same instant, and the male has nothing to do. On the other hand, all brute animals whose young require the nursing care of both parents, are directed by nature to pair; nor is that connection dissolved till the young can provide for themselves. Pairing is indispensable to wild birds that build on trees; because the male must provide food for his mate while she is hatching the eggs. And as they have commonly a numerous issue, it requires the labour of both to pick up food for themselves and for their young. Upon that account it is so ordered, that the young are sufficiently vigorous to provide for themselves, before a new brood is produced.

What I have now opened suggests the following question, Whether, according to the animal œconomy above display'd, are we to presume, or not, that man is directed by nature to matrimony? If analogy can be rely'd on, the affirmative must be held, as there is

no other creature in the known world to which pairing is so necessary. Man is a long-lived animal, and is proportionally slow in growing to maturity: he is a helpless being before the age of fifteen or sixteen, and there may be in a family ten or twelve children of different births before the eldest can shift for itself. Now in the original state of hunting and fishing, which are laborious occupations, and not always successful, a woman suckling her infant is not able to provide food even for herself, far less for ten or twelve voracious children. Matrimony therefore, or pairing, is so necessary to the human race, that it must be natural and instinctive. When such ample means are provided for continuing every other animal race, is it supposable that the chief race would be neglected? Providential care descends even to vegetable life: every plant bears a profusion of seed; and in order to cover the earth with vegetables, some seeds have wings, some are scattered by means of a spring, and some are so light as to be carried about by the wind. Brute animals which do not pair, have grass and other food in plenty, enabling the female to feed her young without needing any help from the male. But where the young require the nursing care of both parents, pairing is a law of nature. When other races are so amply provided for, can it be seriously thought, that Providence is less attentive to the human race? If men and women were not impelled by nature to matrimony, they would be less fitted for continuing their species than even the humblest plant. Have we not reason fairly to conclude, that matrimony in the human race is an appointment of nature? Can that conclusion be resisted by any one who believes in Providence; and in final causes*.

To

* It appears a wise appointment of Providence, that women give over child-bearing at fifty, while they are still in vigour of mind and body to take care of their offspring. Did the power of procreation continue in women to old age as in men, children

To confirm this doctrine, let the consequences of a loose commerce between the sexes be examined. The carnal appetite, when confined to one object, seldom transgresses the bounds of temperance. But were it encouraged to roam like a bee sucking honey from every flower, every new object would inflame the imagination; and satiety with respect to one, would give new vigour with respect to others: a generic habit would be formed of intemperance in fruition (*a*); and animal love would become the ruling passion. Men, like the hart in rutting-time, would all the year round fly with impetuosity from object to object, giving no quarter even to women suckling their infants: and women, abandoning themselves to the same passion, would become altogether regardless of their offspring. In that state, the continuance of the human race would be a miracle. In the savage state, as mentioned above, it is beyond the power of any woman to provide food for a family of children; and now it appears, that intemperance in animal love would render a woman careless of her family, however easy it might be to provide for it *.

children would often be left in the wide world, without a mortal to look after them.

* I have often been tempted to find fault with Providence in bringing so early to perfection the carnal appetite, while a man, still in early youth, has acquired no degree of prudence nor of self-command. It rages indeed the most when young men should be employ'd in acquiring knowledge, and in fitting themselves for living comfortably in the world. I have set this thought in various lights; but I now perceive that the censure is without foundation. The early ripeness of this appetite proves it to be the intention of Providence that people should early settle in matrimony. In that state the appetite is abundantly moderate, and gives no obstruction to education. It never becomes unruly, till one, forgetting the matrimonial tie, wanders from object to object. It is pride and luxury that dictate late marriages: industry never fails to afford the means of living comfortably, provided men confine themselves to the demands of nature.

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, chap. 14.

I say more: The promiscuous use of women would unqualify them in a great measure from procreating, or having a family. The carnal appetite in man resembles his appetite for food: both of them demand gratification without end, after short intervals. Where the carnal appetite is felt but a short space annually, as among animals who feed on grass, the promiscuous use of females is according to the order of nature: but such a law in man, where the carnal appetite is always awake, would be an effectual bar to population; as it is an undoubted truth, that women who indulge that appetite to excess, seldom have children; and if all women were common, all women would in effect be common prostitutes.

If undisguised nature show itself any where, it is in children. So truly is matrimony an instinct of nature, as to be understood even by children. They often hear, it is true, people talking of matrimony; but they also hear of logical, metaphysical, and commercial matters, without understanding a syllable. Whence then their notion of marriage but from nature? Marriage at the same time is a compound idea, which no instruction could bring within the comprehension of a child, did not nature co-operate.

That the arguments urged above against a promiscuous use of women do not necessarily conclude against polygamy, or the union of one man with a plurality of women, will not escape an attentive reader. St Augustin and other fathers admit, that polygamy is not prohibited by the law of nature; and the learned Grotius professes the same opinion (a). But great names terrify me not; and I venture to maintain, that pairing in the strictest sense is a law of nature among men as among wild birds; and that polygamy is a gross infringement of this law. My reasons follow.

(a) De jure belli ac pacis, lib. 2. cap. 5. § 9.

I urge, in the first place, the equal number of males and females, as a clear indication of the will of God, that every man should be confined to one wife, and every woman to one husband. That equality which has subsisted in all countries, and at all times, is a signal instance of over-ruling Providence; for the chances against it are infinite. All men are by nature equal in rank; and every man consequently is equally privileged to have a wife; which cannot be, if polygamy be permitted. Were ten women born for one man, as is falsely reported to be the case in Bantam; polygamy might be the intention of Providence; but from the equality of males and females, it is clearly the voice of nature, as well as of the sacred scripture, "That a man shall leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife; and that they shall be one flesh."

Consider, in the next place, that however plausible polygamy may appear in the present state of things, where inequality of rank and of fortune have produced luxury and sensuality; yet that the laws of nature were not contrived by our Maker for a forc'd state, where numberless individuals are degraded below their natural rank, for the benefit of a few who are elevated above it. To form a just notion of polygamy, we must look back to the original state of man, where all are equal. In that state, every man cannot have two wives; and consequently no man is intitled to more than one, till every other be upon an equal footing with him. At the same time, the union of one man with one woman is much better calculated for continuing the race, than the union of one man with many women. Think of a savage who may have fifty or sixty children by different wives, all depending for food upon his industry. Chance must turn out much in his favour, if the half of them perish not by hunger. How much a better chance for life have infants who are distributed more equally in different families?

Polygamy

Polygamy is attended with an effect still more pernicious, with respect to children even of the most opulent families. Unless affection be reciprocal and equal, there can be no proper society in the matrimonial state, no cordiality, nor due care of offspring. But such affection is inconsistent with polygamy: a woman in that state, far from being a companion to her husband, is degraded to the rank of a servant, a mere instrument of pleasure and propagation. Among many wives there will always be a favourite: the rest turn peevish; and if they resent not the injury against their husband, and against their children as belonging to him, will at least be disheartened, and neglect them altogether. At the same time, fondness for the favourite wife and her children makes the husband indifferent about the rest; and woful is the condition of children who are neglected by both parents (*a*). To produce such an effect, is certainly not the purpose of nature.

It merits peculiar attention, that Providence has provided for an agreeable union among all creatures who are taught by nature to pair. Animal love among creatures who pair not, is confined within a narrow space of time: while the dam is occupied about her young, animal love lies dormant, that she may not be abstracted from her duty. In pairing animals, on the contrary, animal love is always awake: frequent enjoyment endears a pair to each other, and makes constancy a pleasure. Such is the case of the human race; and such is the case of wild birds (*b*). Among the wild birds that build on trees, the male, after feeding his mate in the nest, plants himself upon the next spray, and cheers her with a song. There is still greater pleasure provided for the human race in the matrimonial state, and stronger incitements to

(*a*) L'esprit des loix, liv. 16. chap. 6.

(*b*) Buffon, liv. 5. p. 359. octavo edition.

constancy. Sweet is the society of a pair fitted for each other, in whom are collected the affections of husband, wife, lover, friend, the tenderest affections of human nature. Public government is in perfection, when the sovereign commands with humanity, and the subjects are cordial in their obedience. Private government in conjugal society arrives at still greater perfection, where husband and wife govern and are governed reciprocally, with entire satisfaction to both. The man bears rule over his wife's person and conduct; she bears rule over his inclinations: he governs by law; and she by persuasion. Nor can her authority ever fail, where it is supported by sweetness of temper, and zeal to make him happy *.

The

* L'empire de la femme est un empire de douceur, d'adresse, et de complaisance; ses ordres sont des caresses, ses menaces sont des pleurs. Elle doit regner dans la maison comme un ministre dans l'état, en se faisant commander ce qu'elle veut faire. En ce sens il est constant que les meilleurs ménages sont ceux où la femme a le plus d'autorité. Mais quand elle reconnoit la voix du chef, qu'elle veut usurper ses droits et commander elle-même; il ne résulte jamais de ce désordre, que misère, scandale, et deshonneur. *Rousseau Emile, liv. 5. p. 96.* — [*In English thus*: "The empire of the woman is an empire of softness, of address, of complacency; her commands are caresses, her menaces are tears. She ought to reign in the family like a minister in the state, by making that which is her inclination be enjoined to her as her duty. Thus it is evident, that the best domestic economy is that where the wife has most authority. But when she is insensible to the voice of her chief, when she tries to usurp his prerogative, and to command alone, what can result from such disorder, but misery, scandal, and dishonour?"] — The Empress Livia being questioned by a married lady, how she had obtained such ascendant over her husband Augustus, answered, "By being obedient to his commands, by not wishing to know his secrets, and by hiding my knowledge of his amours." The late Queen of Spain was a woman of singular prudence, and of solid judgement. A character of her, published after her death, contains the following passage. "She had a great ascendancy over the King, founded on his persuasion of her superior sense, which she show'd in a perfect

The God of nature has enforc'd conjugal society, not only by making it agreeable, but by the principle of chastity inherent in our nature. To animals that have no instinct for pairing, chastity is utterly unknown; and to them it would be useless. The mare, the cow, the ewe, the she-goat, receive the male without ceremony, and admit the first that comes in the way without distinction. Neither have tame fowl any notion of chastity: they pair not; and the female gets no food from the male, even during incubation. But chastity and mutual fidelity are essential to all pairing animals; for wandering inclinations would render them negligent in nursing their young. Wild birds pair; and they are by instinct faithful to each other while their young require nurture. Chastity and mutual fidelity in matrimony are equally essential to the human race, and equally enforc'd by the principle of chastity, a branch of the moral sense.

Nor is chastity confined to the matrimonial state. Matrimony is instituted by nature for continuing the species; and it is the duty of man to abstain from animal enjoyment except in that state. The ceremonies of marriage, and the causes of separation and divorce, are subjected to municipal law: but if a man beget children, it is his duty to unite with the mother in taking care of them; and such union is matrimony according to the law of nature. Hence it is, that the first acts of incontinence, where enjoyment only is in view, are always attended with shame, and with a degree of remorse. At the same time, as chastity in persons who are single is only a self-duty, it is not so strongly enforc'd by the moral sense as chastity is in married persons, who

"perfect submission to his commands; the more easily obey'd, as they were commonly, tho' to him imperceptibly, dictated by herself. She cured him of many foibles, and in a word was his Minerva, under the appearance of Mentor."

owe to each other mutual fidelity. Deviations accordingly from the former make a less figure than from the latter: we scarce ever hear of adultery among savages; tho' among them incontinence before marriage is not uncommon. In Wales, even at present, and in the highlands of Scotland, it is scarce a disgrace for a young woman to have a bastard. In the country last mentioned, the first instance known of a bastard-child being destroy'd by its mother through shame is a late one. The virtue of chastity appears to be there gaining ground; as the only temptation a woman can have to destroy her child is, to conceal her frailty. The principle of chastity, like that of propriety or of decency, is but faint among savages, and has little of that authority which it acquires among polished nations before they are corrupted by luxury. We shall have occasion to see afterward, that even the great duty of justice is but faint among barbarians, and yields too readily to every irregular impulse, till the moral sense acquires full maturity. Bougainville reports, that in the island of Otaheite, or King George's island, a young woman is free to follow her inclinations; and that her having had many lovers gives her not the less chance for a husband.

Chastity is no doubt a restraint upon nature; and therefore, if shame be removed, by making it lawful to obey the appetite, nature will prevail. In the year 1707, a contagious distemper having carried off a large proportion of the inhabitants of Iceland, the King of Denmark fell on a device to repopulate the country, which succeeded to a wish. A law was made, authorising young women in that island to have bastards, even to the number of six, without wounding their reputation *. The young women were so
zealous

* Don Juan de Ulloa, in his voyage to Peru, mentions a very singular taste prevalent in that country, that a man never takes a virgin to wife; and thinks himself dishonoured

zealous to repeople their country, that after a few years it was found proper to abrogate the law.

Modesty is by nature intended to guard chastity, as chastity is to guard matrimony. And modesty, like chastity, is one of those delicate principles that make no great figure among savages. In the land of Jesso, young women sometimes go naked in summer: if however they meet a stranger, they hang the head, and turn away through shame. Nature here is their only instructor *. Some savage tribes have so little notion of modesty, as to go naked, without even covering their privy parts. Regnard reports upon his own knowledge, that in Lapland, man, woman, and child, take the hot bath promiscuously, and are not ashamed to be seen in that condition, even by a stranger. As this appeared singular, I took opportunity to mention it to Dr Solander, who made more than one visit to that country. He said, that Regnard's report might be true, but without any imputation on the modesty of the Laplanders; for that their place of bathing is always so dark, that nothing can be seen. He added, that the females in Lapland, both married and unmarried, are extremely chaste. The inhabitants of Otaheite, tho' otherwise a good sort of people, seem to have as little notion of modesty as of chastity. We have Bougainville's authority, that they frankly offered their young women to the French, and were greatly surprised when they declined performing in public. The women of New Zeland are both chaste and modest. In Lieutenant Cook's voyage round the world, it is reported, that he stumbled upon some of them naked, searching for

dishonoured if his wife have not, before marriage, enjoy'd many lovers. If we can trust Paulus Venetus, a young woman of Thibet, in Asia, is not reckoned fit to be married till she be deflowered.

* Doth not modesty prevail among many animals? Elephants are never seen in copulation, nor cats, nor beasts of prey.

lobsters

lobsters in the sea ; and that they were in great confusion for being seen in this condition by strangers.

But now, if pairing in the strictest sense be a law of nature among men, as among some other animals, how is polygamy to be accounted for, which formerly was universal, and to this day obtains among many nations ? I am reduced to no dilemma here. Polygamy is derived from two sources ; first, from savage manners, once universal ; and next, from voluptuousness in warm climates, which instigates men of wealth to transgress every rule of temperance. These two sources I propose to handle with care, because they make a great part of the history of the female sex.

With respect to the first, sweetness of temper, a capital branch of the female character, displays itself externally, by mild looks, and gentle manners. But such graces are scarce perceptible in a female savage ; and even in the most polished would not be perceived by a male savage. Among savages, strength and boldness are the only valued qualities : in these qualities females are miserably deficient ; and for that reason are contemned by the males, as beings of an inferior order. The North-American tribes glory in idleness : the drudgery of labour degrades a man in their opinion, and is proper for women only. To join young persons in marriage is accordingly the business of parents ; and it would be unpardonable meanness in the bridegroom to shew any fondness for the bride. Young men among the Hottentots are admitted into society with their seniors at the age of eighteen ; after which it is disgraceful to keep company with females. In Guiana, a woman never eats with her husband ; but after every meal attends him with water for washing. A woman in the Caribbee islands is not permitted to eat even in presence of her husband ; and yet we are assured (a), that the women there obey with such sweet-

(a) Labat's voyages to the American islands,

ness and respect, as never to give their husbands occasion to remind them of their duty; "an example," adds our sage author, "worthy the imitation of Christian wives, who are daily instructed from the pulpit in the duties of obedience and conjugal fidelity, *but to very little purpose.*" Dampier observes in general, that among all the wild nations he was acquainted with, the women carry the burdens, while the men walk before, and carry nothing but their arms. Women even of the highest rank are not better treated. The sovereign of Giaga, in Africa, has many wives, who are literally his slaves: one carries his bow, one his arrows, and one gives him drink; and while he is drinking, they all fall on their knees, clap their hands, and sing. Not many centuries ago, a law was made in England, prohibiting the New Testament in English to be read by women, 'prentices, journeymen, or serving men (a). What a pitiful figure must the poor women have made in that age! In Siberia, and even in Russia, the capital excepted, men treat their wives in every respect as slaves. The regulations of Peter I. put marriage upon a more respectable footing among people of rank; and yet such are the brutal manners of the Russians, that tyrannical treatment of wives is far from being eradicated.

The low condition of the female sex among savages and barbarians paved the way to polygamy. Savages, excited by a taste for variety, and still more by pride, which is gratified by many servants, delight in a multiplicity of wives. The pairing principle, tho' rooted in human nature, makes little figure among savages, yielding to every irregular appetite; and this fairly accounts why polygamy was once universal. It might indeed be thought, that animal love, were there nothing else, should have raised women

(a) 34th and 35th Henry VIII. cap. 2.

to some degree of estimation among the men. But male savages, utter strangers to decency or refinement, gratify animal love with as little ceremony as they do hunger or thirst.

Hence appears the reason of a custom that will surprise those who are unacquainted with ancient customs; which is, that women were purchased for wives, as other goods are purchased. Women by marriage became slaves; and no man will give away his daughter to be a slave, but for a valuable consideration. The practice was universal. I begin with the Jews. Abraham bought Rebekah, and gave her to his son Isaac for a wife (a). Jacob having nothing else to give, served Laban fourteen years for two wives (b). Sechem demanding in marriage Dinah, Jacob's daughter, said, "Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife (c)." To David, demanding Saul's daughter in marriage, Saul said, "The king desireth not any dowry, but an hundred foreskins of the Philistines (d)." In the Iliad, Agamemnon offers his daughter to Achilles for a wife, and says, that he would not demand for her any price. Pausanias reports of Danaus, that no suitors appearing to demand any of his daughters, he published, that he would give them without dowry. In Homer there is frequent mention of nuptial gifts from a bridegroom to his bride's father. From terming them gifts, it is probable that the former method of purchase was beginning to wear out. It wore out before the time of Aristotle, who infers, that their forefathers must have been a very rude people. The ancient Spaniards

(a) Genesis, xxiv. 53.

(b) Genesis, chap. xxix.

(c) Genesis, xxxiv. 12.

(d) 1 Samuel xviii. 25.

purchased

purchased their wives. We have the authority of Herodotus and of Heraclides Ponticus, that the same was practised in Thrace. And the latter adds, that if a wife was ill treated, her relations could demand her back, upon repaying the price they got for her. In the Roman law mention is made of matrimony *per æs et libram*, which was solemnized by laying down a quantity of brass, with a balance for weighing it, understood to be the price paid for the bride. This must have been once a reality, tho' it sunk down to be a mere ceremony, after it became customary for a Roman bride to bring a dowry with her. The Babylonians and the Assyrians, at stated times, collected all the marriageable young women, and disposed of them by auction. Rubruguis, in his voyage to Tartary ann. 1253, reports, that there every man bought his wife. They believe, he adds, that their wives serve them in another world as they do in this; for which reason, a widow has no chance for a second husband, whom she cannot serve in the other world. Olaus Magnus remarking, that among the ancient Goths no dower was provided on the bride's part, gives a reason, better suited perhaps to the time he lived in than to what he describes. "Apud Gothos, non mulier viro sed vir mulieri dotem assignat; ne conjux, ob magnitudinem dotis insolescens, aliquando ex placida consorte proterva evadet, atque in maritum dominari contendat *;" as if the hazard of petulancy in a wife would hinder a man to accept a dower with her:—a sad doctrine for an heiress. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his description of Wales, says, that formerly they hardly ever married without a prior cohabitation, it having been customary for parents to let out their daughters to young men upon trial, for a sum of money told down, and under a penalty if the girls were returned. This I believe to be a mistake. It is more

* "Among the Goths, a man gave a dowry for his bride, instead of receiving one with her; to prevent pride and insolence, that commonly accompany riches on the woman's part."

probable, that in Wales men purchased their wives, as was done all the world over, with liberty to return them if they proved not agreeable. The bride's parents retained the dowry, and her chance for a husband was as good as ever.

The same custom continues among barbarous nations. It continues among the Tartars, among the Mingrelians, among the Samoides, among the Ostiaks, among the people of Pegu, and of the Molucca islands. In Timor, an East-Indian island, men even sell their children to purchase more wives. The Prince of Circassia demanded from the Prince of Mingrelia, who was in suit of his daughter, a hundred slaves loaded with tapestry and other household furniture, a hundred cows, as many oxen, and as many horses. We have evidence of the same custom in Africa, particularly in Biledulgerid, among the negroes on the sea-coast, and in Monomotapa. Among the Caribbees there is one instance where a man gets a wife without paying for her. After a successful war, the victors are entertained at a feast, where the General harangues on the valour of the young men who made the best figure. Every man who has marriageable daughters, is fond to offer them to such young men without any price. The purchasing of wives is universal among the wild Arabs. When the bargain is concluded, the bridegroom is permitted to visit the bride: if she answer not his expectations, he may turn her off; but has no claim for the price he paid. The inland negroes are more polished than those on the coast; and there is scarce any remains among them of purchasing wives: the bridegroom makes presents to his bride, and her father makes presents to him. There are remaining traces in Russia of purchasing wives. Even so late as the time of Peter I. the Russians married without seeing each other; and before solemnization the bride received from the bridegroom a present of sweetmeats, soap, and other little things.

The purchasing of wives made it a lawful practice to lend a wife as one does a slave. The Spartans lent their wives to their friends; and

and Cato the elder is said to have done the same. The Indians of Calicut frequently exchange wives.

If brutish manners alone be sufficient to degrade the female sex, they may reckon upon extreme harsh treatment when purchased to be slaves. The Giagas, a fierce and wandering nation in the central parts of Africa, being supinely idle at home, subject their wives and their slaves to every sort of drudgery, such as digging, sowing, reaping, cutting wood, grinding corn, fetching water, &c. These poor creatures are suffered to toil in the fields and woods, ready to faint with excessive labour, while the monsters of men will not give themselves even the trouble of training animals for work, tho' they have the example of the Portuguese before their eyes. It is the business of the women among the wandering Arabs of Africa to card, spin, and weave, and to manage other household affairs. They milk the cattle, grind, bake, brew, dress the victuals, and bring home wood and water. They even take care of their husbands horses, feed, curry, comb, bridle, and saddle them. They would also be obliged, like Moorish wives, to dig, sow, and reap their corn; but luckily for them the Arabs live entirely upon plunder. Father Joseph Gumilla, in his account of a country in South America, bordering upon the great river Oronoko, describes pathetically the miserable slavery of married women there, and mentions a practice that would appear incredible to one unacquainted with the manners of that country, which is, that married women frequently destroy their female infants. A married woman, of a virtuous character and good understanding, having been guilty of that crime, was reproached by our author in bitter terms. She heard him patiently to an end, with eyes fixed on the ground; and answered as follows. "I wish to God, Father, I wish to God, that my mother had by my death prevented the manifold distresses I have endured, and have yet to endure as long I live. Had she kindly

“ stifled me at my birth, I should not have felt the pain of
“ death, nor numberless other pains to which life hath subjected
“ ed me. Consider, Father, our deplorable condition. Our husbands
“ bands go to hunt with their bows and arrows, and trouble
“ themselves no farther. We are dragged along, with one infant
“ at our breast, and another in a basket. They return in the evening
“ without any burden; we return with the burden of our
“ children; and, tho’ tired out with a long march, are not permitted
“ to sleep, but must labour the whole night in grinding
“ maize, to make chica for them. They get drunk, and in their
“ drunkenness beat us, draw us by the hair of the head, and
“ tread us under foot. And what have we to comfort us for
“ slavery, perhaps of twenty years? A young wife is brought in
“ upon us, who is permitted to abuse us and our children, because
“ we are no longer regarded. Can human nature endure
“ such tyranny! What kindness can we show to our female children
“ equal to that of relieving them from such servitude, more
“ bitter a thousand times than death? I say again, would to God
“ that my mother had put me under ground the moment I was
“ born.” One would readily imagine, that the women of that
country should have the greatest abhorrence at matrimony; but
all-prevailing nature determines the contrary; and the appetite for
matrimony overbalances every rational consideration.

Nations polish by degrees; and from the lowest state to which
a human creature can be reduced, women came in time to be restored
to their native dignity. Attention to dress is the first symptom
of that progress. Male savages, even of the grossest kind,
are fond of dress. Charlevoix mentions a young American hired
as a rower, who adjusted his dress with great care before he entered
the boat, and at intervals inspected his looking-glass, to see
whether the violence of his motion had not discomposed the red
upon his cheeks. We read not of vanity for dress in females of
such

such savage nations: they are too much dispirited to think of being agreeable. Among nations in any degree humanized we find a different scene. In the isthmus of Darien government has made some progress, as a chieftain is elected for life: a glimmering of civility appears among the inhabitants; and as some regard is paid to women, they rival the men in dress. Both sexes wear rings in their ears and noses; and are adorned with many rows of shells hanging down from the neck. A female in a sultry climate submits to fry all day long under a load of twenty or thirty pounds of shells; and a male under double that load. Well may they exclaim with Alexander, "Oh Athenians! what do I not endure to gain your approbation?" The female Caribbeans and Brasilians are not less fond of ornament than the males. Hottentot ladies are fond of dress; and strive to outdo each other in adorning their krosses, and the bag that holds their pipe and tobacco: European ladies are not more vain of their silks and embroideries. Women in Lapland are much addicted to finery. They wear broad girdles, upon which hang chains and rings without end, commonly made of tin, sometimes of silver, weighing perhaps twenty pounds. The Greenlanders are nasty and slovenly, eat with their dogs, make food of the vermin that make food of them, seldom or never wash themselves; and yet the women, who make some figure among the men, are gaudy in their dress. Their chief ornaments are pendants at their ears, with glass beads of various colours; and they draw lines with a needle and black thread between their eyes, cross the forehead, upon the chin, hands, and legs. The negroes of the kingdom of Ardrah in Guinea have made a considerable progress in police, and in the art of living. Their women carry dress and finery to an extravagance. They are clothed with loads of the finest satins and chintzes, and are adorned with a profusion of gold. In a sultry climate they gratify vanity at the expence of ease. Among the inland negroes, who are
more

more polished than those on the sea-coast, beside domestic concerns, the women sow, plant, and reap. A man however suffers in the esteem of the world, if he permit his wives to toil like slaves while he is indulging in ease. From that auspicious commencement, the female sex have risen in a slow but steady progress to higher and higher degrees of estimation. Conversation is their talent, and a display of delicate sentiments: the gentleness of their manners, and winning behaviour, captivate every sensible heart. Of such refinements savages have little conception: but when the more delicate senses are unfolded, the peculiar beauties of the female sex, internal as well as external, are brought into full light; and women, formerly considered as objects of animal love merely, are now valued as faithful friends and agreeable companions. Matrimony assumes a more decent form, being the union, not of a master and slave, but of two persons equal in rank uniting to form a family. And it contributed greatly to this delicious refinement, that in temperate climes animal love is moderate, and women long retain good looks, and power of procreation. Thus marriage became honourable among polished nations; which of course banished the barbarous custom of purchasing wives; for a man who wishes to have his daughter properly matched, will gladly give a dowry with her, instead of selling her as a slave.

Polygamy is found intimately connected with the purchasing wives. There is no limitation in purchasing slaves: nor has a woman purchased as a wife or a slave, any just cause for complaining, that others are purchased as she was: on the contrary, she is in part relieved, by addition of hands for performing the servile offices of the family. Polygamy accordingly has always been permitted, where men pay for their wives. The Jews purchased their wives; and were indulged in polygamy (a). Diodorus Sicu-

(a) Leviticus, xviii. 18.

lus says, that polygamy was permitted in Egypt, except to priests (a). This probably was the case originally; but when the Egyptian manners came to be polished, a man gave a dowry with his daughter, instead of receiving a price for her; witness Solomon, who got the city of Gazer in dowry with the King of Egypt's daughter. When that custom became universal, we may be certain that it would put an end to polygamy. And accordingly Herodotus affirms, that polygamy was prohibited in Egypt (b). Polygamy undoubtedly prevailed in Greece and Rome, while it was customary to purchase wives; but improved manners put an end to the latter, and consequently to the former. Polygamy to this day obtains in the cold country of Kamiskatka; and in the still colder country round Hudson's bay. In the land of Jesso, near Japan, a man may have two wives, who perform every sort of domestic drudgery. The negroes in general purchase their wives, and deal in polygamy. Polygamy is the law in Monomotapa. Polygamy and the purchasing wives were customary among the original inhabitants of the Canary islands. The men in Chili buy their wives, and deal in polygamy.

The low condition of women among barbarians introduced polygamy, and the purchasing women to be wives. And the just respect paid to them among civilized nations, restored the law of nature, and confined a man to one wife. Their equality as to rank and dignity bars the man from taking another wife, as it bars the woman from taking another husband. We find traces in ancient history of polygamy wearing out gradually. It wore out in Greece, as manners refined; but such was the influence of long habit, that tho' a man was confined to one wife, concubines were in-

(a) Lib. i.

(b) Lib. 2. § 92.

dulged without limitation. In Germany, when Tacitus wrote, very few traces remained of polygamy. "Severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris; nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur*." When polygamy was in that country so little practised, we may be certain the purchasing wives did not remain in vigour. And Tacitus accordingly, mentioning the general rule, "dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert †," explains it away by observing, that the only *dos* given by the bridegroom were marriage-presents, and that he at the same time received marriage-presents on the bride's part (a). The equality of the matrimonial engagement, for the mutual benefit of husband and wife, was well understood among the Gauls. Cæsar (b) says, "Viri quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis, æstimatione facta, cum dotibus communicant. Hujus omnis pecuniæ conjunctim ratio habetur, fructusque servantur. Uter eorum vita superarit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum pervenit ‡." In

* "Marriage is there rigidly respected; nor is there any part of their morality more laudable: for they are almost the only race of barbarians who are contented with a single wife; a very few excepted, who, not from incontinency, but from an ambition of nobility, take more wives than one."

† "The husband gives a dowry to the wife, but the wife brings none to the husband."

‡ "Whatever sum the husband has received as his wife's portion, he allots as much from his own effects to be joined with it. An account is kept of this joint stock, and the fruits of it are preserved. Upon the death of either, the surviving spouse has the property of both the shares, with the fruits or profits."

(a) De moribus Germanorum, cap. 18.

(b) Lib. 6. cap. 19. De bello Gallico.

Japan,

Japan, and in Nicaragua, a man can have but one wife; but he may have many concubines. In Siam, polygamy is still permitted, though the bride brings a dowry with her: but that absurdity is corrected by refined manners; it being held improper, and even disgraceful, to have more than one wife. The purchasing wives wore out of fashion among the ancient Tuscans; for it was held infamous, that marriage should be the result of any motive but mutual love. This at the same time put an end to polygamy. Polygamy was probably early eradicated among the ancient Persians; for the bride's dowry was settled in marriage-articles, as among us. And there is the same reason for presuming, that it was not long permitted in Mexico; marriage there being solemnized by the priest, and the bride's dower specified, which was restored in case of a separation. In the countries where the Christian religion was first propagated, women were fast advancing to an equality with the men, and polygamy was wearing out of fashion. The pure spirit of the gospel hastened its downfall; and tho' not prohibited expressly, it was however held, that Christianity is a religion too pure for polygamy.

But, as hinted above, it was by slow degrees that the female sex emerged out of slavery, to possess the elevated state they justly are intitled to by nature. The practice of exposing infants among the Greeks, and many other nations, is an invincible proof of their depression, even after the custom ceased of purchasing them. It is wisely ordered by Providence, that the affection of a woman to her children commences with their birth, because during infancy all depends on her care. As during that period the father is of little use to his child, his affection is extremely slight till the child begin to prattle and shew some fondness for him. The exposing an infant therefore shows, that the mother was little regarded: if she had been allowed a vote, the practice never would have obtained in any country. In the first book of the Iliad, Achilles says to A-

gamemnon, who threatened to force from him his mistress Briseis,
 " Another thing I will tell thee : record it in thy soul. For a wo-
 " man these hands shall never fight, with thee nor with thy foes.
 " Come, seize Briseis : ye Argives, take the prize ye gave. But
 " beware of other spoil, which lies stowed in my ships on the
 " shore. I will not be plundered farther. If other be thy thoughts,
 " Atrides, come in arms, a trial make : these very slaves of thine
 " shall behold thy blood pouring around my spear *." The co-
 medies of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, are lost ; but man-
 ners must have been little polished in their time, so far as can be
 conjectured from their translators or imitators, Plautus and Te-
 rence. Married women in their comedies are sometimes intro-
 duced, and treated with very little respect. A man commonly
 vents his wrath on his wife, and scolds her as the cause of the
 misconduct of their children. A lady, perhaps too inquisitive about
 her husband's amours, is scolded by him in the following words.

* Pope hides that sentiment as follows.

" Seize on Briseis, whom the Grecians doom'd
 " My prize of war, yet tamely see resum'd ;
 " And seize secure ; no more Achilles draws
 " His conqu'ring sword in any woman's cause.
 " The gods command me to forgive the past ;
 " But let this first invasion be the last :
 " For know, thy blood, when next thou dar'st invade,
 " Shall stream in vengeance on my reeking blade."

Such contempt of the female sex as expressed by Achilles was perhaps thought too gross for a modern ear without some disguise. But did not Pope discover, that one capital beauty in Homer is the delineation of ancient manners ? At that rate, had it fallen to his share to describe Julius Cæsar, he would have dressed him like a modern beau. And after all, in a genteel assembly, what a savage would he appear, without breeches, and without linen !

"Ni mala, ni stulta sis, ni indomita impósque animi,

"Quod viro esse odio videas, tute tibi odio habeas.

"Præter hac si mihi tale post hunc diem

"Faxis, faxo foris vidua visas patrem *."

One will not be surpris'd, that women in Greece were treated with no great respect by their husbands. A woman cannot have much attraction who passes all her time in solitude: to be admir'd, she must receive the high polish of society. At the same time, men of fashion were so much improved in manners as to relish society with agreeable women, where such could be found. And hence the figure that courtezans made at that period, especially in Athens. They studied the temper and taste of the men, and endeavour'd to gain their affection by every winning art. The daily conversations they listened to on philosophy, politics, poetry, enlighten'd their understanding and improved their taste. Their houses became agreeable schools, where every one might be instructed in his own art. Socrates and Pericles met frequently at the house of Aspasia: from her they acquired delicacy of taste, and in return procur'd to her public respect and reputation. Greece at that time was govern'd by orators, over whom some celebrated courtezans had great influence, and by that means enter'd deep into the government. It was said of the famous Demosthenes, "The measure he hath meditated on for a year, will

* "Would you be held a wife and virtuous spouse,

"And of discretion due, observe this counsel:

"Whatever I, your lord, blame or approve,

"Still let your praise or censure be the same.

"But hearkee, — be this reprimand the last:

"If you again offend, no more a wife

"Within these walls; — your father has you back."

"be overturned in a day by a woman." It appears accordingly from Plautus and Terence, that Athenian courtezans lived in great splendor. See in particular *Theautontimorumenos*, act 3. scene 2b

I proceed to the other cause of polygamy, mentioned also above, viz. opulence in a hot climate. Men there have a burning appetite for animal enjoyment; and women become old and lose the prolific quality, not long after the age of maturity in a temperate climate. These circumstances dispose men of opulence to purchase their wives, that they may not be confined to one; and purchase they must, for no man, without a valuable consideration, will surrender his daughter to be one of many who are destined to gratify the carnal appetite of one man. The numerous wives and concubines in Asiatic harems are all of them purchased with money. In the hot climate of Hindostan, polygamy is universal, and men buy their wives. The same obtains in China: after the price is adjusted and paid, the bride is conducted to the bridegroom's house locked in a sedan, and the key delivered to him: if he be not satisfied with his bargain, he sends her back at the expence of losing the sum he paid for her: if satisfied, he feasts his male friends in one room, and she her female friends in another. A man who has little substance takes a wife for his son from a hospital, which saves him a dowry.

It has been pleaded for polygamy in warm climates, that women are fit for being married at or before the age of ten, and past child-bearing at twenty-five, while men are yet in the prime of life; and therefore that a second wife ought to be permitted, who can bear children. Is then the interest of the female sex to be totally disregarded in the matrimonial engagement, as if women were intended by nature for beasts of burden only? But even putting them out of the question, it ought to be considered, that a man, by taking a second wife, deprives some other of the privilege all men have to be married. The argument indeed would be

be conclusive, were ten females born for one male, as is said to be the case in Bantam: but as an equality of males and females is the destination of nature, the argument has no force. All men are born equal by nature; and to permit polygamy in any degree, is to authorise some to usurp the privilege of others.

Thus in hot climates women remain in the same humble and dependent state, in which all women were originally, when all men were savages. Women by the law of Hindostan are not admitted to be witnesses, even in a civil cause; and I blush to acknowledge, that in Scotland the same law has not been long in disuse.

In contradiction to the climate, Christianity has banished polygamy from Ethiopia, tho' the judges are far from being severe upon that crime. The heat of the climate makes them wish to indulge in a plurality of wives, even at the expence of purchasing each of them. Among the Christians of Congo polygamy is in use, as formerly when they were Pagans. To be confined to one wife during life, is held by the most zealous Christians there, to be altogether irrational: rather than be so confined, they would renounce Christianity.

Beside polygamy, many other customs depend on the nature of the matrimonial engagement, and vary according to its different kinds. Marriage-ceremonies, for that reason, vary in different countries, and at different times. Where the practice is to purchase a wife, whether among savages, or among pampered people in hot climates, the payment of the price completes the marriage, without any other ceremony. Other ceremonies however are sometimes practised. In old Rome, the bride was attended to the bridegroom's house with a female slave carrying a distaff and a spindle, importing that she ought to spin for the family. Among the savages of Canada and of the neighbouring countries, a strap, a kettle, and a faggot, are put in the bride's cabin, as symbols of her

her duty, viz. to carry burdens, to dress the victuals, and to provide wood. On the other hand, the bride, in token of her slavery, takes her axe, cuts down timber, bundles it up, and lays it before the door of the bridegroom's hut. All the salutation she receives is, "It is time to go to rest." The inhabitants of Sierra Leona, a negro country, have in all their towns a boarding-school, where young ladies are educated for a year under the care of a venerable old gentleman. When their education is completed, they are carried in their best attire to a public assembly; which may be termed a matrimonial market, because there young men convene to make a choice. Those who fit themselves to their fancy, pay the dowry, and over and above gratify the old superintendent for his extraordinary care in educating the bride. In the island of Java, the bride, in token of subjection, washes the bridegroom's feet; and this is a capital ceremony. In Russia, the bride presents to the bridegroom a bundle of rods, to be used against her when she deserves to be chastised; and at the same time she pulls off his boots. The present Empress, prone to reform the rude manners of her subjects, has discountenanced that ceremony among people of fashion. Very different were the manners of Peru before the Spanish conquest. The bridegroom carried shoes to the bride, and put them on with his own hands. But there purchasing of wives was unknown. Marriage-ceremonies in Lapland are directed by the same principle. It is the custom there for a man to make presents to his children of rein-deer; and young women, such as have a large stock of rein-deer, have lovers in plenty. A young man looks for such a wife at a fair, or at their meetings for paying taxes. He carries to the house of the young woman's parents, some of his relations; being solicitous in particular to chuse an eloquent speaker. They are all admitted except the lover, who must wait till he be called in. After drinking some spirits, brought along for the purpose, the spokesman addresses the father

father in the most humble terms, bowing the knee as if he were introduced to a prince. He styles him, the worshipful father, the high and mighty father, the best and most illustrious father, &c. &c.

In viewing the chain of causes and effects, instances sometimes occur of bizarre facts, starting from the chain without any cause that can be discovered. The marriage-ceremonies among the Hottentots are of that nature. After all matters are adjusted among the old people, the young couple are shut up in a room by themselves, where they pass the night in struggling for superiority, which proves a very serious work where the bride is reluctant. If she persevere to the last without yielding, the young man is discarded; but if he prevail, which commonly happens, the marriage is completed by another ceremony, not less singular. The men and women squat on the ground in different circles, the bridegroom in the centre of one, and the bride in the centre of another. The Suri, or master of religious ceremonies, pisses on the bridegroom; who receives the stream with eagerness, and rubs it into the furrows of the fat with which he is covered. He performs the same ceremony on the bride, who is equally respectful. Marriage-ceremonies among the Kamskatkans are still more whimsical. A young man, after making his proposals, enters into the service of his intended father-in-law. If he prove agreeable, he is admitted to the trial of the *touch*. The young woman is swaddled up in leathern thongs; and in that condition is put under the guard of some old women. He watches every opportunity of a slack guard to uncase her, in order to touch what is always the most concealed. The bride must resist, in appearance at least; and therefore cries out to summon her guards; who fall with fury upon the bridegroom, tear his hair, scratch his face, and act in violent opposition. The attempts of the lover prove sometimes unsuccessful for months; but the moment the

touch

touch is atchieved, the bride testifies her satisfaction, by pronouncing the words *Ni, Ni*, with a soft and loving voice. The next night they bed together without any opposition. One marriage-ceremony among the inland negroes is singular. So soon as preliminaries are adjusted, the bridegroom with a number of his companions set out at night, and surround the house of the bride, as if intending to carry her off by force. She and her female attendants, pretending to make all possible resistance, cry aloud for help, but no person appears. This resembles strongly a marriage-ceremony that is or was customary in Wales. On the morning of the wedding-day, the bridegroom, accompanied with his friends on horseback, demands the bride. Her friends, who are likewise on horseback, give a positive refusal, upon which a mock scuffle ensues. The bride, mounted behind her next kinsman, is carried off, and is pursued by the bridegroom and his friends with loud shouts. It is not uncommon to see on such an occasion two or three hundred sturdy Cambro-Britons riding at full speed, crossing and jostling, to the no small amusement of the spectators. When they have fatigued themselves and their horses, the bridegroom is suffered to overtake his bride. He leads her away in triumph, and the scene is concluded with feasting and festivity. The same marriage-ceremony was usual in Muscovy, Lithuania, and Livonia, as reported by Olaus Magnus (a).

Divorce also depends on the nature of the matrimonial engagement. Where the law is, that a man must purchase his wife as one does a slave; it follows naturally, that he may purchase as many as he can pay for, and that he may turn them off at his pleasure. This law is universal, without a single exception. The Jews, who purchased their wives, were privileged to divorce them,

(a) Lib. 14. cap. 9.

without being obliged to assign a cause (a). The negroes purchase their wives, and turn them off when they think proper. The same law obtains in China, in Monomotapa, in the isthmus of Darien, in Caribbeana, and even in the cold country round Hudson's bay. All the savages of South America who live near the Oroonoko, purchase as many wives as they can maintain; and divorce them at their pleasure.

Very different is a matrimonial engagement between equals, where a dowry is contracted with the bride. The nature of the engagement implies, that neither of them is privileged to dismiss the other without a just cause. In Mexico, where the bride brought a dowry, there could be no divorce but by mutual consent. In Lapland, the women who have a stock of rein-deer, as above mentioned, make a considerable figure. This lays a foundation for a matrimonial covenant as among us, which bars polygamy, and consequently divorce without a just cause. And when these are barred in several instances, the prohibition in time becomes general.

I proceed to adultery, the criminality of which depends also in some measure on the nature of the matrimonial engagement. Where wives are purchased, and polygamy is indulged, adultery can scarce be reckoned a crime in the husband; and where there are a plurality of wives, sound sense makes it but a venial crime in any one of them. But as men are the lawgivers, the punishment of female adultery, where polygamy takes place, is generally too severe. It is however more or less severe in different countries, in proportion as the men are more or less prone to revenge. The Chinese are a mild people, and depend more on locks and bars for preventing adultery, than on severity; the punish-

(a) Deuteronomy, chap. 24.

ment being only to sell an adulteress for a slave. The same law obtains in the kingdom of Laos, bordering upon China. An adulteress among the ancient Egyptians was punished with the loss of her nose. In ancient Greece, a pecuniary penalty was inflicted on an adulterer (*a*). An adulteress was probably punished more severely. Among the negroes, who have very little delicacy, adultery is but slightly punished; except in the kingdom of Benin. There an adulteress, after a severe whipping, is banished; and the adulterer forfeits his goods, which are bestow'd on the injured husband. Among the ancient Germans, a grave and virtuous people, adultery was extremely rare. An adulteress was deprived of her hair, expelled from her husband's house, and whipped through the village (*b*). In Japan, where the people are remarkably fierce, female adultery is always punished with death. In Tonquin, a woman guilty of adultery is thrown to an elephant to be destroy'd. By the law of Moses, an adulteress is punished with death, as also the adulterer (*c*). Margaret of Burgundy, Queen to Lewis Hutin King of France, was hang'd for adultery; and her lovers were flea'd alive. Such were the savage manners of those times. There is an old law in Wales, that for defiling the Prince's bed the offender must pay a rod of pure gold, of the thickness of the finger of a ploughman who has ploughed nine years, and in length from the ground to the Prince's mouth when sitting.

Matrimony between a single pair, for mutual comfort, and for procreating children, implies the strictest mutual fidelity. Adultery however is a deeper crime in the wife than in the husband:

(*a*) *Odyssey*, book 8. l. 384.

(*b*) Tacitus, *De moribus Germanorum*, cap. 19.

(*c*) *Leviticus*, xx. 10.

in him it may happen occasionally, with little or no alienation of affection; but the superior modesty of the female sex is such, that a wife does not yield, till unlawful love prevails, not only over modesty, but over duty to her husband. Adultery therefore in the wife, is a breach of the matrimonial engagement in a double respect: it is an alienation of affection from the husband, which unqualifies her to be his friend and companion; and it tends to bring a spurious issue into the family, betraying the husband to maintain and educate children who are not his own.

The gradual advance of the female sex to an equality with the male sex, is visible in the laws of female succession that have been established at different times, and in different countries. It is not probable, that in any country women were early admitted to inherit land: they are too much despised among savages for so valuable a privilege. The fierceness and brutality of the ancient Romans in particular, unqualified the women to be their companions: it never entered their thoughts, that women should inherit land, which they cannot defend by the sword. But women came to be regarded in proportion as the national manners refined. The law prohibiting female succession in land, established in days of rusticity, was held to be rigorous and unjust when the Romans were more polished. Proprietors of land, such of them as had no sons, were disposed to evade the law, by ample provisions to their daughters, which rendered the land of little value to the collateral heir-male. To reform that abuse, as termed by the veterans, the *lex Voconia* was made, confining such provisions within moderate bounds: and this regulation continued in force, till regard for the female sex broke through every legal restraint, and established female succession in land, as formerly in moveables *. The barbarous

* Justinian, or more properly the lawyers employ'd by him upon that absurd compilation

barous nations who crush'd the Roman power, were not long in adopting the mild manners of the conquered: they admitted women to inherit land, and they exacted a double composition for injuries done to them. By the Salic law among the Franks, women were expressly prohibited to inherit land; but we learn from the forms of Marculfus, that this prohibition was in time eluded by the following solemnity. The man who wanted to put his daughter upon a footing with his sons, carried her before the commissary, saying, "My dear child, an ancient and impious custom bars a young woman from succeeding to her father: but as all my children equally are given me by God, I ought to love them equally; therefore, my dear child, my will is, that my effects shall divide equally between you and your brethren." In polished states, women are not excluded from succeeding even to the crown. Russia and Britain afford examples of women capable to govern, in an absolute as well as in a limited monarchy*.

What

compilation the Pandects, is guilty of a gross error, in teaching, that by the Twelve Tables males and females of the same degree succeeded equally to land. The *lex Voconia* (which see explain'd in *Alexandri ab Alexandro geniales dies*, lib. 6. cap. 15.) vouches the contrary. And one cannot see without pain Justinian's error, not only adopted by an illustrious modern, but a cause assigned for it so refined and subtle as to go quite out of fight, *L'esprit de loix*, liv. 27. chap. 1. I venture to affirm, that subtle reasoning never had any influence upon a rough and illiterate people; and therefore, at the time of the Decemvirs, who composed the Twelve Tables of law, the subtle cause assigned by our author could not have been the motive, had the Decemvirs introduced female succession in land, which they certainly did not.

* The kingdom of Gurrah in Hindostan was governed by Queen Dargoutté, eminent for spirit and beauty. Small as that kingdom is, it contained about 70,000 towns and villages, the effect of long peace and prosperity. Being invaded by Afaph Can, not many years ago, the Queen, mounted on an elephant, led her troops to battle. Her son Rajah Bier Shaw, being wounded in the heat of action, was by her orders carried from the field. That accident having occasioned a general

What I have said, regards those nations only where polygamy is prohibited. I take it for granted, that women are not admitted to inherit land where polygamy is lawful: they are not in such estimation as to be intitled to a privilege so illustrious.

Among the Hurons in North America, where the regal dignity is hereditary, and great regard paid to the royal family, the succession is continued through females, in order to preserve the royal blood untainted. When the chief dies, his son succeeds not, but his sister's son; who certainly is of the royal blood, whoever be the father: and when the royal family is at an end, a chief is elected by the noblest matron of the tribe. The same rule of succession obtains among the Natches, a people bordering on the Mississippi; it being an article in their creed, That their royal family are children of the sun. On the same belief was founded a law in Peru, appointing the heir of the crown to marry his sister; which, equally with the law mentioned, preserved the blood of the sun in the royal family, and did not encroach so much upon the natural order of succession.

Female succession depends in some degree on the nature of the government. In Holland, all the children, male and female, succeed equally. The Hollanders live by commerce, which women are capable of as well as men. Land at the same time is so scanty in that country, as to render it impracticable to raise a family by engrossing a great estate in land; and there is nothing but the am-

neral panic, the Queen was left with no more but 300 horsemen. Adhar, who conducted her elephant, exhorted her to retire while it could be done with safety. The heroine rejected the advice. "It is true," said she, "we are overcome in battle; but not in honour. Shall I, for a lingering ignominious life, lose a reputation that has been my chief study! Let your gratitude repay now the obligations you owe me: pull out your dagger, and save me from slavery, by putting an end to my life."

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bition of raising a family that can move a man to prefer one of his children before the rest. The same law obtains in *Hamburgh*, for the same reasons. Extensive estates in land support great families in Britain, a circumstance unfavourable to younger children. But probably in London, and in other great trading towns, mercantile men take care to prevent the law, by making a more equal distribution of their effects among their children.

After traversing a great part of the globe with painful industry, will not one be apt to conclude, that originally females were everywhere despised, as they are at present among the savages of America; that wives, like slaves, were procured by barter; that polygamy was universal; and that divorce depended on the whim of the husband? Such conclusion however would be rash; for upon a more accurate scrutiny, an extensive country is discovered, where polygamy never was in fashion, and where women were from the beginning courted and honoured as among the most polished nations. But the reader is humbly requested to suspend his curiosity, till he peruse the following sketch, concerning the progress of manners, which appears to be the proper place for that curious and interesting subject.

We proceed now to a capital article in the progress of the female sex; which is, to trace the different degrees of restraint imposed upon married women in different countries, and at different times in the same country; and to assign the causes of these differences. Where luxury is unknown, and where people have no wants but what are suggested by uncorrupted nature, men and women live together with great freedom, and with great innocence. In Greece anciently, even young women of rank ministered to men in bathing.

“ While these officious tend the rites divine,

“ The last fair branch of the Nestorian line,

“ Sweet

" Sweet Polycasté, took the pleasant toil

" To bath the Prince, and pour the fragrant oil (a).

Men and women among the Spartans bathed promiscuously, and wrestled together stark naked. Tacitus reports, that the Germans had not even separate beds, but lay promiscuously upon reeds or heath along the walls of the house. The same custom prevails even at present among the temperate Highlanders of Scotland; and is not quite worn out in New England. A married woman is under no confinement, because no man thinks of an act so irregular as to attempt her chastity. In the Caribbee islands adultery was unknown, till European Christians made settlements there. At the same time, there scarce can be any fuel for jealousy, where men purchase their wives, put them away at pleasure, and even lend them to a friend. But when by ripening sensibility a man puts a value on the affections of his wife, and on her attachment to him, jealousy commences; jealousy of a rival in her affections. Jealousy accordingly is a symptom of an increasing esteem for the female sex; and that passion is visibly creeping in among the natives of Virginia. It begins to have a real foundation, when inequality of rank and of riches takes place. Men of opulence study pleasure: married women become objects of a corrupted taste; and often fall a sacrifice, where morals are imperfect, and the climate favourable to animal love. Greece is a delicious country, the people handsome; and when the ancient Greeks made the greatest figure, they were extremely defective in morals. They became jealous of their honour and of rivals; which prompted them, according to the rough manners of those times, to exclude women from society with men. Their women accor-

(a) *Odyssey*, book 3. See also book 8. line 491.

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dingly were never seen in public; and if my memory serve me, an accidental interview of a man and a woman on the public street brings on the catastrophe in a Greek tragedy. In *Hecuba*, a tragedy of Euripides, the Queen excuses herself for declining to visit Polyestor, saying, "that it is indecent for a woman to look a man in the face." In the *Electra* of Sophocles, Antigone is permitted by her mother Jocasta to take a view of the Argian army from a high tower: an old man who accompanies her, being alarmed at seeing some females pass that way, and afraid of censure, prays Antigone to retire; "for," says he, "women are prone to detraction; and to them the merest trifle is a fruitful subject of conversation *." Spain is a country that scarce yields to Greece in fineness of climate; and the morals of its people in the dark ages of Christianity, were not more pure than those of Greece. By a law of the Visigoths in Spain, a surgeon was prohibited to take blood from a free woman, except in presence of her husband or nearest relations. By the Salic law (*b*), he who squeezes the hand of a free woman shall pay a fine of 15 golden shillings. In the fourteenth century, it was a rule in France, that no married woman ought to admit a man to visit her in absence of her husband. Female chastity must at that time have been extremely feeble, when so little trust was reposed in the fair sex.

To treat women in that manner, may possibly be necessary, where they are in request for no end but to gratify animal love. But where they are intended for the more elevated purposes, of being

* Women are not prone to detraction unless when denied the comforts of society. The censure of Sophocles is probably just with respect to his countrywomen, because they were lock'd up. Old maids have the character with us of being prone to detraction; but that holds not unless they retire from society.

(a) Tit. 22.

friends and companions, as well as affectionate mothers, a very different treatment is proper. Locks and spies will never answer; for these tend to debase their minds, to corrupt their morals, and to render them contemptible. By gradual openings in the more delicate senses, particularly in all the branches of the moral sense, chastity, one of these branches, acquires a commanding influence over females; and when they are treated with humanity, becomes their ruling principle. In that refined state, women are trusted with their own conduct, and may safely be trusted: they make delicious companions, and uncorruptible friends; and that such at present is generally their case in Britain, I am bold to affirm. Anne of Britany, wife to Charles VIII. and to Lewis XII. Kings of France, introduced the fashion of ladies appearing publicly at court. This fashion was introduced much later in England: even down to the Revolution, women of rank never appeared in the streets without a mask. In Scotland, the veil, or plaid, continued long in fashion, with which every woman of rank was covered when she went abroad. That fashion has not been laid aside above forty years. In Italy, women were much longer confined than in France; and in Spain the indulging them with some liberty is but creeping into fashion at present. In Abyssinia polygamy is prohibited; and married women of fashion have by custom obtained the privilege of visiting their friends, tho' not much with the good-will of many husbands. It were to be wished, that a veil could be drawn over the following part of their history. The growth of luxury and sensuality, undermining every moral principle, renders both sexes equally dissolute: wives in that case deserve to be again lock'd up; but the time of such severity is past. Then indeed it becomes indecent for the two sexes to bathe promiscuously. The men in Rome, copying the Greeks, plunged together into the same bath, and became such proficient in assurance,

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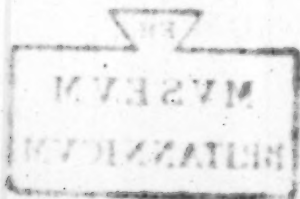
rance, that men and women did the same (a). Hadrian prohibited that indecent custom. Marcus Antoninus renewed the prohibition; and Alexander Severus, a second time: but to so little purpose, that even the primitive Christians made no difficulty to follow the custom: such appetite there is for being *nudus cum nuda*, when justified by fashion. This custom withstood even the thunder of general councils; and was not dropt till people became more decent, in appearance at least.

In days of innocence, when modesty is the ruling passion of the female sex, we find great frankness in external behaviour; for women who are above suspicion are little solicitous about appearances. At the same period, and for the same reason, we find great looseness in writing; witness the Queen of Navarre's tales. In the capital of France at present, chastity, far from being practised, is scarce admitted to be a female virtue. But people who take much freedom in private, are extremely circumspect in public: no indecent expression nor insinuation is admitted, even into their plays or other writings. In England the women are less corrupted than in France; and for that reason are not so scrupulous with respect to decency in writing.

Hitherto of the female sex in temperate climes, where polygamy is prohibited. Very different is their condition in hot climes, which inflame animal love in both sexes equally. In the hot regions of Asia, where polygamy is indulged, and wives are purchased for gratifying the carnal appetite merely, it is vain to think of restraining them otherwise than by locks and bars, after having once tasted enjoyment. Where polygamy is indulged, the body is the only object of jealousy; not the mind, as there can be no mutual affection between a man and his instruments of sensual

(a) Plutarch, Life of Cato.

pleasure.



pleasure. And if women be so little virtuous as not to be safely trusted with their own conduct, they ought to be lock'd up; for there is no just medium between absolute confinement and absolute freedom. The Chinese are so jealous of their wives, as even to lock them up from their relations; and so great is their diffidence of the female sex in general, that brothers and sisters are not permitted to converse together. When women are permitted to go abroad, they are shut up in a close sedan into which no eye can penetrate. The intrigues carried on by the wives of the Chinese Emperor, and the jealousy that reigns among them, render them unhappy. But luckily, as women are little regarded where polygamy is indulged, their ambition and intrigues give less disturbance to the government, than in the courts of European princes. The ladies of Hindostan cover their heads with a gauze veil, even at home, which they lay not aside except in presence of their nearest relations. A Hindoo buys his wife; and the first time he is permitted to see her without a veil, is after marriage in his own house. In several hot countries, women are put under the guard of eunuchs as an additional security; and black eunuchs are commonly preferred for their ugliness. But as a woman, deprived of the society of men, is apt to be inflamed even with the appearance of a man, some jealous nations, refining upon that circumstance, employ old maids, termed *duennas*, for guarding their women. In the city of Moka, in Arabia Felix, women of fashion never appear on the street in day-light; but it is a proof of manners refined above those in neighbouring countries, that they are permitted to visit one another in the evening. If they find men in their way, they draw aside to let them pass. A French surgeon being called by one of the King of Yeman's chief officers, to cure a rheumatism which had seized two of his wives, was permitted to handle the parts affected; but he could not get a sight of their faces.

I proceed to examine more minutely the manners of women, as resulting from the degree of restraint they are under in different countries. In the warm regions of Asia, where polygamy is indulged, the education of young women is extremely loose, being calculated for the sole end of animal pleasure. They are accomplished in such graces and allurements as tend to inflame the sensual appetite: they are taught vocal and instrumental music, with various dances that cannot stand the test of decency: but no culture is bestowed on the mind, no moral instruction, no improvement of the rational faculties; because such education, which qualifies them for being virtuous companions to men of sense, would inspire them with abhorrence at the being made prostitutes. In a word, so corrupted are they by vicious education, as to be unfit objects of any desire but what is merely sensual. The Asiatic ladies are not even trusted with the management of household affairs, which would afford opportunities for infidelity. In Persia, says Chardin, the ladies are not permitted, more than children, to chuse their own dress: no lady knows in the morning what gown she is to wear that day. The education of young women in Hindostan is less indecent. They are not taught music nor dancing, which are reckoned fit only for ladies of pleasure: they are taught all the graces of external behaviour, particularly to converse with spirit and elegance: they are taught also to sew, to embroider, and to dress with taste. Writing is neglected; but they are taught to read, that they may have the consolation of studying the Alcoran; which they never open, nor would understand if they did. Notwithstanding such care in educating Hindostan ladies, their manners, by being shut up in a seraglio, become extremely loose: the most refined luxury of sense, joined with idleness, or with reading love-tales, still worse than idleness, cannot fail to vitiate the minds of persons deprived of liberty, and to prepare them for every sort of intemperance. The wives and concubines of gran-
dees

dees in Constantinople are permitted sometimes to walk abroad for air and exercise. A foreigner stumbling accidentally on a knot of them, about forty in number, attended with black eunuchs, was in the twinkling of an eye seized by a brisk girl, with the rest at her heels: she accosted him with loose amorous expressions, attempting at the same time to expose his nakedness. Neither threats nor intreaties availed him against such vigorous assailants; nor could the vehemence of their curiosity be moderated, by representing the shame of a behaviour so grossly immodest. An old Janizary, standing at a little distance, was amazed: his Mahometan bashfulness would not suffer him to lay hands upon women; but with a Stentorian voice he roared to the black eunuchs, that they were guardians of prostitutes, not of modest women; and urging them to free the man from such harpies. — All in vain (a).

Very different are female manners in temperate climes, where polygamy is prohibited, and women are treated as rational beings. These manners however depend in some measure upon the nature of the government. As many hands are at once employ'd in the different branches of republican government, and still a greater number by rotation, the males, who have little time to spare from public business, feel nothing of that languor and weariness which to the idle make the most frivolous amusements welcome. Married women live retired at home, managing family-affairs, as their husbands do those of the state: whence it is, that simplicity of manners is more the tone of a republic, than of any other government. Such were the manners of the female sex during the flourishing periods of the Greek and Roman commonwealths; and such are their manners in Switzerland and in Holland. In a monarchy, government employs but a few hands; and those who

(a) Observations on the religion, laws, &c. of the Turks.

are not occupied with public business, give reins to gallantry, and to other desires that are easily gratified. Women of figure, on the other hand, corrupted by opulence and superficial education, are more ambitious to captivate the eye than the judgement; and are fonder of lovers than of friends. Where a man and a woman thus disciplined meet together, they soon grow particular: the man is idle, the woman frank; and both equally addicted to pleasure. Such commerce must in its infancy be disguised under the appearance of virtue and religion: the mistress is exalted into a deity, the lover sinks into a humble votary; and this artificial relation produces a bombast sort of love, with sentiments that soar high above nature. Duke John de Bourbonnois, ann. 1414, caused it to be proclaimed, that he intended an expedition to England with sixteen knights, in order to combat the like number of English knights, for glorifying the beautiful angel he worshipped. René, styled *King of Sicily and Jerusalem*, observes, in writing upon tournaments, that they are highly useful in furnishing opportunities to young knights and esquires to display their prowess before their mistresses. He adds, "that every ceremony regarding tournaments is contrived to honour the ladies. It belongs to them to inspect the arms of the combatants, and to distribute the rewards. A knight or esquire who defames any of them is beat and bruised till the injured lady condescend to intercede for him." Remove once a female out of her proper sphere, and it is easy to convert her into a male. James IV. of Scotland, in all tournaments, professed himself knight to Anne Queen of France. She summoned him to prove himself her true and valorous champion, by taking the field in her defence against Henry VIII. of England. And, according to the romantic gallantry of that age, the Queen's summons was thought to have been his chief motive in declaring war against Henry his brother-in-law. The famous Gaston de Foix, who commanded the French troops

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at the battle of Ravenna, rode from rank to rank, calling by name the officers, and even some private men, recommending to them their country and their honour; adding, "that he would see what they would perform for the love of their mistresses." During the civil wars in France, when love and gallantry were carried to a high pitch, Monsieur de Chatillon, ready to engage in a battle, tied to his arm a garter of Mademoiselle de Guerchi, his mistress.

But when unlawful commerce between the sexes turns common, and consequently familiar, the bombast style appears ridiculous, and the sensual appetite is gratified with very little ceremony. Nothing of love remains but the name; and as animal enjoyment without love is a very low pleasure, it soon sinks into disgust when confined to one object. What is not found in one, is fondly expected in another; and the imagination, roving from object to object, finds no gratification but in variety. An attachment to a woman of virtue or of talents appears absurd: true love is laughed out of countenance; and men degenerate into brutes. Women, on the other hand, regarding nothing but sensual enjoyment, become so careless of their infants, as even, without blushing, to employ mercenary nurses *. Such a course of life cannot fail to
sink

* Les femmes d'un certain état en France trouvent qu'elles perdent trop à faire des enfans, et à cause de cela même, la plupart vivent célibataires, dans le sein même du mariage. Mais si l'envie de se voir perpétuer dans une branche de descendans, les porte à se conformer aux vœux de l'hymen, la population, dans cette classe, n'en est pas plus avancée, parce que leur délicatesse rend inutile leur propagation; car, parmi les femmes du premier et second rang en France, combien y en a-t-il qui nourrissent leurs enfans? Il seroit facile de les compter. Ce devoir indispensable de mere, a cessé chez nous d'en être un. *Les Intérêts de la France*, vol. 1. p. 234. — [In English thus: "The women of a certain rank in France find that they lose too much by childbearing; and for that reason, even
" though

sink them into contempt : marriages are dissolved as soon as contracted ; and the state is frustrated of that improvement in morals and manners, which is the never-failing product of virtuous love. A state enriched by conquest or commerce declines gradually into luxury and sensual pleasure : manners are corrupted, decency banished, and chastity becomes a mere name. What a scene of rank and dissolute pleasure is exhibited in the courts of Alexander's successors, and in those of the Roman emperors !

Gratitude to my female readers, if I shall be honoured with any, prompts me to conclude this sketch with a scene that may afford them instruction, and cannot fail of being agreeable ; which is, the figure a woman is fitted for making in the matrimonial state, where polygamy is excluded. Matrimony among savages, having no object but propagation and slavery, is a very humbling state for the female sex : but delicate organization, great sensibility, lively imagination, with sweetness of temper above all, qualify women for a more dignified society with men ; which is, to be their bosom-friends and companions. In the common course of European education, young women are trained to make an agreeable figure, and to behave with decency and propriety : very little culture is bestowed on the head ; and still less on the heart, if it be not the art of hiding passion. Education so slight and superficial is far from seconding the purpose of nature, that of making women fit companions for men of sense. Due cultivation of the female mind,

“ though married, live in a state of celibacy. But population is not advanced, even by those who, from a desire of seeing themselves perpetuated in their descents, conform to the purpose of marriage ; for their delicacy counterbalances their fertility. How few of the first and second rank of women in France suckle their children ? It would be easy to count the number. This indispensable duty of a mother has now ceased to be one with us.”]—As such woful neglect of education is the fruit of voluptuousness, we may take it for granted, that the same obtains in every opulent and luxurious capital.

would

would add greatly to the happiness of the males, and still more to that of the females. Time runs on; and when youth and beauty vanish, a fine lady, who never entertained a thought into which an admirer did not enter, finds in herself a lamentable void, occasioning discontent and peevishness. But a woman who has merit, improved by virtuous and refined education, retains in her decline an influence over the men, more flattering than even that of beauty: she is the delight of her friends, as formerly of her admirers.

Admirable would be the effects of such refined education, contributing no less to public good than to private happiness. A man, who at present must degrade himself into a fop or a coxcomb in order to please the women, would soon discover, that their favour is not to be gained but by exerting every manly talent in public and in private life; and the two sexes, instead of corrupting each other, would be rivals in the race of virtue. Mutual esteem would be to each a school of urbanity; and mutual desire of pleasing would give smoothness to their behaviour, delicacy to their sentiments, and tenderness to their passions.

Married women in particular, destin'd by nature to take the lead in educating their children, would no longer be the greatest obstruction to good education, by their ignorance, frivolity, and disorderly manner of living. Even upon the breast, infants are susceptible of impressions*; and the mother hath opportunities

* May not a habit of cheerfulness be produced in an infant by being trained up among cheerful people? An agreeable temper is held to be a prime qualification in a nurse. Such is the connection between the mind and body as that the features of the face are commonly moulded into an expression of the internal disposition; and is it not natural to think, that an infant in the womb may be affected by the temper of its mother? Its tender parts makes it susceptible of the slightest impressions. When a woman is breeding, she ought to be doubly careful of her temper; and in particular to indulge no ideas but what are cheerful, and no sentiments but what are kindly.

without end of instilling into them good principles, before they are fit for a male tutor. Coriolanus, who made a capital figure in the Roman republic, never returned from war without meriting marks of distinction. Others behaved valliantly, in order to acquire glory : he behaved valiantly, in order to give pleasure to his mother. The delight she took in hearing him praised, and her weeping for joy in his embraces, made him in his own opinion the happiest person in the universe. Epaminondas accounted it his greatest felicity, that his father and mother were still alive to behold his conduct, and enjoy his victory at Leuctra. In a Latin dialogue about the causes that corrupted the Roman eloquence, injudiciously ascribed to Tacitus, because obviously it is not his style, the method of education in Rome, while it flourished as a commonwealth, is described in a lively manner. I shall endeavour to give the sense in English, because it chiefly concerns the fair sex. " In that age, children were suckled, not in the hut of a mercenary nurse, but by the chaste mother who bore them. Their education during nonage was in her hands ; and it was her chief care to instil into them every virtuous principle. In her presence, a loose word or an improper action were strictly prohibited. She superintended, not only their serious studies, but even their amusements ; which were conducted with decency and moderation. In that manner the Gracchi, educated by Cornelia their mother, and Augustus, by Attia his mother, appeared in public with untainted minds ; fond of glory, and prepared to make a figure in the world." In the expedition of the illustrious Bertrand du Guesclin against Peter the Cruel, King of Castile, the governor of a town, upon being summoned to give it up, made the following answer, " That they might be conquered, but would never tamely yield ; that their fathers had taught them to prefer a glorious death before a dishonourable life ; and that their mothers had not only educated them in
" these

“ these sentiments, but were ready to put in practice the lessons “ they had inculcated.” Let the most profound politician say, what more efficacious incentive there can be to virtue and manhood, than the behaviour of the Spartan matrons, flocking to the temples, and thanking the gods, that their husbands and sons had died gloriously, fighting for their country. In the war between Lacedemon and Thebes, the Lacedemonians having behaved ill, the married men, as Plutarch reports, were so ashamed of themselves, that they durst not look their wives in the face. What a glorious prize is here exhibited to be contended for by the female sex!

By such refin’d education, love would take on a new form, that which nature inspires for making us happy, and for softening the distresses of chance: it would fill deliciously the whole soul with tender amity, and mutual confidence. The union of a worthy man with a frivolous woman can never, with all the advantages of fortune, be made comfortable: how different the union of a virtuous pair, who have no aim but to make each other happy! Between such a pair emulation is reversed, by an ardent desire in each to be surpassed by the other.

Cultivation of the female mind is not of great importance in a republic, where men pass little of their time with women. Such cultivation where polygamy is indulged, would to them be a great misfortune, by opening their eyes to their miserable condition. But in an opulent monarchy where polygamy is prohibited, female education is of high importance, not singly with respect to private happiness, but with respect to the society in general.

A P P E N D I X.

Concerning Propagation of Animals, and Care of their Offspring.

THE natural history of animals with respect to pairing, and care of their offspring, is susceptible of more elucidation than could regularly be introduced into the sketch itself, where it makes but a single argument. Loth to neglect a subject that eminently displays the wisdom and benevolence of Providence, I gladly embrace the present opportunity, however slight, to add what further occurs upon it. Buffon, in many large volumes, bestows scarce a thought on that favourite subject; and the neglect of our countrymen Ray and Derham is still less excusable, considering that to display the conduct of Providence was their sole purpose in writing on natural history.

The instinct of pairing is bestow'd on every species of animals to which it is necessary for rearing their young; and on no other species. All wild birds pair: but with a remarkable difference between such as place their nests on trees, and such as place them on the ground. The young of the former, being hatched blind, and without feathers, require the nursing care of both parents till they be able to fly. The male feeds his mate on the nest, and cheers her with a song. As soon as the young are hatched, singing yields to a more necessary occupation, that of providing food for a numerous issue, a task that requires both parents.

Eagles and other birds of prey build on trees, or on other inaccessible spots. They not only pair, but continue in pairs all the year

year round; and the same pair procreate year after year. This at least is the case of eagles: the male and female hunt together, unless during incubation, during which time the female is fed by the male. A greater number than a single pair never are seen in company.

Gregarious birds pair, in order probably to prevent discord in a society confined to a narrow space. This is the case particularly of pigeons and rooks. The male and female sit on the eggs alternately, and divide the care of feeding their young.

Partridges, plovers, pheasants, peafowl, grouse, and other kinds that place their nests on the ground, have the instinct of pairing; but differ from such as build on trees in the following particular, that after the female is impregnated, she completes her task without needing any help from the male. Retiring from him, she chooses a safe spot for her nest, where she can find plenty of worms and grass-seed at hand. And her young, as soon as hatched, take foot, and seek food for themselves. The only remaining duty incumbent on the dam is, to lead them to proper places for food, and to call them together when danger impends. Some males, provoked at the desertion of their mates, break the eggs if they stumble on them. Eider ducks pair like other birds that place their nests on the ground; and the female finishes her nest with down plucked from her own breast. If the nest be destroy'd for the down, which is remarkably warm and elastic, she makes another nest as before. If she be robb'd a second time, she makes a third nest; but the male furnishes the down. A lady of spirit observed, that the Eider duck may give a lesson to many a married woman, who is more disposed to pluck her husband than herself. The black game never pair: in spring the cock on an eminence crows, and claps his wings; and all the females within hearing instantly resort to him.

Pairing birds, excepting those of prey, flock together in February,
in

in order to chuse their mates. They soon disperse; and are not seen afterward but in pairs.

Pairing is unknown to quadrupeds that feed on grafs. To such it would be useless; as the female gives suck to her young while she herself is feeding. If M. Buffon deserve credit, the roe-deer are an exception. They pair, though they feed on grafs, and have but one litter in a year.

Beasts of prey, such as lions, tigers, wolves, pair not. The female is left to shift for herself and for her young; which is a laborious task, and often so unsuccessful as to shorten the life of many of them. Pairing is essential to birds of prey, because incubation leaves the female no sufficient time to hunt for food. Pairing is not necessary to beasts of prey, because their young can bear a long fast. Add another reason, that they would multiply so fast by pairing as to prove troublesome neighbours to the human race.

Among animals that pair not, males fight desperately about a female. Such a battle among horned cattle is finely described by Lucretius. Nor is it unusual for seven or eight lions to wage bloody war for a single female.

The same reason that makes pairing necessary for gregarious birds, obtains with respect to gregarious quadrupeds; those especially who store up food for winter, and during that season live in common. Discord among such would be attended with worse consequences than even among lions and bulls, who are not confined to one place. The beavers, with respect to pairing, resemble birds that place their nests on the ground. As soon as the young are produced, the males abandon their stock of food to their mates, and live at large; but return frequently to visit them while they are suckling their young.

Hedge-hogs pair as well as several of the monkey-kind. We are not well acquainted with the natural history of these animals;

mals; but it would appear that the young require the nursing care of both parents.

Seals have a singular economy. Polygamy seems to be a law of nature among them, as a male associates with several females. The sea-turtle has no occasion to pair, as the female concludes her task by laying her eggs in the sand. The young are hatched by the sun; and immediately crawl to the sea.

In every other branch of animal economy concerning the continuance of the species, the hand of Providence is equally conspicuous. The young of pairing birds are produced in the spring, when the weather begins to be comfortable; and their early production makes them firm and vigorous before winter, to endure the hardships of that rigorous season. Such early production is in particular favourable to eagles, and other birds of prey; for in the spring they have plenty of food, by the return of birds of passage.

Tho' the time of gestation varies considerably in the different quadrupeds that feed on grass, yet the female is regularly delivered early in summer, when grass is in plenty. The mare admits the stallion in summer, carries eleven months, and is delivered the beginning of May. The cow differs little. A sheep and a goat take the male in November, carry five months, and produce when grass begins to spring. These animals love short grass, upon which a mare or a cow would starve*. The rutting-season of the red deer is the end of September, and beginning of October: it continues for three weeks, during which time the male runs from female to female without intermission. The female

* I have it upon good authority, that ewes pasturing in a hilly country pitch early on some snug spot, where they may drop their young with safety. And hence the risk of removing a flock to a new field immediately before delivery: many lambs perish by being dropped in improper places.

brings

in order to chuse their mates. They soon disperse; and are not seen afterward but in pairs.

Pairing is unknown to quadrupeds that feed on grafs. To such it would be useless; as the female gives suck to her young while she herself is feeding. If M. Buffon deserve credit, the roe-deer are an exception. They pair, though they feed on grafs, and have but one litter in a year.

Beasts of prey, such as lions, tigers, wolves, pair not. The female is left to shift for herself and for her young; which is a laborious task, and often so unsuccessful as to shorten the life of many of them. Pairing is essential to birds of prey, because incubation leaves the female no sufficient time to hunt for food. Pairing is not necessary to beasts of prey, because their young can bear a long fast. Add another reason, that they would multiply so fast by pairing as to prove troublesome neighbours to the human race.

Among animals that pair not, males fight desperately about a female. Such a battle among horned cattle is finely described by Lucretius. Nor is it unusual for seven or eight lions to wage bloody war for a single female.

The same reason that makes pairing necessary for gregarious birds, obtains with respect to gregarious quadrupeds; those especially who store up food for winter, and during that season live in common. Discord among such would be attended with worse consequences than even among lions and bulls, who are not confined to one place. The beavers, with respect to pairing, resemble birds that place their nests on the ground. As soon as the young are produced, the males abandon their stock of food to their mates, and live at large; but return frequently to visit them while they are suckling their young.

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brings forth in May, or beginning of June; and the female of the fallow deer brings forth at the same time. The she-afs is in season beginning of summer; but she bears twelve months, which fixes her delivery to summer. Wolves and foxes copulate in December: the female carries five months, and brings forth in April, when animal food is as plentiful as at any other season; and the she-lion brings forth about the same time. Of this early birth there is one evident advantage, hinted above: the young have time to grow so firm as easily to bear the inclemencies of winter.

Were one to guess what probably would be the time of rutting, summer would be named, especially in a cold climate. And yet to quadrupeds who carry but four or five months, that economy would be pernicious, throwing the time of delivery to an improper season for warmth, as well as for food. Wisely is it ordered, that the delivery should constantly be at the best season for both.

Gregarious quadrupeds that store up food for winter, differ from all other quadrupeds with respect to the time of delivery. Beavers copulate the end of autumn, and bring forth in January, when their granary is full. The same economy probably obtains among all other quadrupeds of the same kind.

One rule takes place among all brute animals, without a single exception, That the female never is burdened with two litters at the same time. The time of gestation is so unerringly calculated by nature, that the young brood upon hand can provide for themselves before another brood comes on. Even a hare is not an exception, tho' many litters are produced in a year. The female carries thirty or thirty-one days; but she suckles her young only twenty days, after which they provide for themselves, and leave her free to a new litter.

The care of animals to preserve their young from harm is a beautiful instance of Providence. When a hind hears the hounds, she puts herself in the way of being hunted, and leads them a-
way

way from her fawn. The lapwing is no less ingenious: if a person approach, she flies about, retiring always from her nest. A partridge is extremely artful: she hops away, hanging a wing as if broken: lingers till the person approach, and hops again. A hen, timid by nature, is bold as a lion in defence of her young: she darts upon every creature that threatens danger. The roe-buck defends its young with resolution and courage. So doth a ram; and so do many other quadrupeds.

It is observed by an ingenious writer (a), that nature sports in the colour of domestic animals, in order that men may the more readily distinguish their own. It is not easy to say, why colour is more varied in such animals, than in those which remain in the state of nature: I can only say, that the cause assigned is not satisfactory. One is seldom at a loss to distinguish one animal from another; and Providence never interposes to vary the ordinary course of nature, for an end so little necessary as to make the distinction still more obvious. Such interposition would beside have a bad effect, by encouraging inattention and indolence.

The foregoing particulars are offered to the public as hints merely: may it not be hoped, that they will excite curiosity in those who relish natural history? The field is rich, tho' little cultivated; and I know no other branch of natural history that opens finer views into the conduct of Providence.

(a) Pennant.

S K E T C H VII.

Progress of M A N N E R S.

THere are peculiarities in the appearance, in the expressions, in the actions, of some persons, which, in opposition to the manners of the generality, are termed *their manners*. Such peculiarities in the bulk of a nation, by which it differs from other nations, or from itself at different periods, are termed *the manners of that nation*. Manners therefore signify a mode of behaviour peculiar to a certain person, or to a certain nation. The term is not applied to mankind in general; except perhaps in contradistinction to other beings.

Manners are distinguished from morals; but in what respect has not been clearly explained. Do not the same actions relate to both? Certainly; but in different respects: an action considered as right or wrong, belongs to morals; considered as characteristic of a person, or of a people, it belongs to manners.

Manners peculiar to certain tribes and to certain governments, fall under other branches of this work. The intention of the present sketch is, to trace out the manners of nations, in the different stages of their progress, from infancy to maturity. I am far from regretting, that manners produced by climate, by soil, and by other permanent causes, fall not under my plan: I should indeed

deed make but a poor figure upon a subject that has been learnedly discussed by the greatest genius of the present age (a).

I begin with external appearance, being the first thing that draws attention. The human countenance hath a greater variety of expressions than that of any other animal; and some persons differ widely from the generality in these expressions. The same variety is observable in human gestures; and the same peculiarity in particular persons, so as to be known by their manner of walking, or even by so slight an action as that of putting on or taking off a hat: some men are known even by the sound of their feet. Whole nations are distinguishable by the same peculiarities. And yet there is less variety in looks and gestures, than the different tones of mind would produce, were men left to the impulses of pure nature: man, an imitative animal, is prone to copy others; and by imitation, external behaviour is nearly uniform among those who study to be agreeable; witness people of fashion in France. I am acquainted with a blind man, who, without moving his feet, is constantly balancing from side to side, excited probably by some internal impulse. Had he been endowed with eyesight, he would have imitated the manners of others. I rest upon these outlines: to enter fully into the subject would be an endless work; disproportioned at any rate to the narrowness of my plan.

Dress must not be omitted, because it enters into external appearance. Providence hath clothed all animals that are unable to clothe themselves. Man can clothe himself; and he is endowed beside with an appetite for dress, no less natural than an appetite for food. That appetite is proportioned in degree to its use: in cold climates it is vigorous; in hot climates, extremely faint.

(a) Montesquieu.

Savages must go naked till they learn to cover themselves; and they soon learn where covering is necessary. The Patagonians, who go naked in a bitter-cold climate, must be woefully stupid. And the Picts, a Scotch tribe, who, it is said, continued naked down to the time of Severus, did not probably much surpass the Patagonians in the talent of invention.

Modesty is another cause for clothing: few savages expose the whole of the body without covering. It gives no high idea of Grecian modesty, that at the Olympic games people wrestled and run races stark naked.

There is a third cause for clothing, which is, the pleasure it affords. A fine woman, seen naked once in her life, is a desirable object; desire being inflamed by novelty. But let her go naked for a month; how much more charming will she appear, when dressed with propriety and elegance! Cloathing is so essential to health, that to be less agreeable than nakedness would argue an incongruity in our nature. Savages probably at first thought of cloathing as a protection only against the weather; but they soon discovered a beauty in dress: men led the way, and women followed. Such savages as go naked, paint their bodies, excited by the same fondness for ornament, that our women shew in their party-coloured garments. Among the Jews, the men wore earrings as well as the women (*a*). When Media was governed by its own kings, the men were sumptuous in dress: they wore loose robes, floating in the air; had long hair covered with a rich bonnet, bracelets, chains of gold, and precious stones: they painted their faces, and mixed artificial hair with that of nature. As authors are silent about the women, they probably made no figure in that kingdom, being shut up, as at present, in seraglios. Very

(*a*) Exod. xxxii. 2.

different was the case of Athenian ladies, after polygamy was banished from Greece. They consumed the whole morning at the toilette; employing paint, and every drug for cleaning and whitening the skin: they laid red even upon their lips, and took great care of their teeth: their hair, made up in buckles with a hot iron, was perfumed and spread upon the shoulders: their dress was elegant, and artfully contrived, to set off a fine shape. Such is the influence of appetite for dress: vanity could not be the sole motive, as Athenian ladies were never seen in public. We learn from St Gregory, that women in his time dressed their heads extremely high; environing them with many tresses of false hair, disposed in knots and buckles, so as to resemble a regular fortification. Josephus reports, that the Jewish ladies powdered their hair with gold dust; a fashion that was carried from Asia to Rome. The first writer who mentions white powder for the hair, the same we use at present, is L'Etoile, in his journal for the year 1593. He relates, that nuns walked the streets of Paris curled and powdered. That fashion spread by degrees through Europe. For many years after the civil wars in France, it was the fashion in Paris to wear boots and spurs with a long sword: a gentleman was not in full dress without these accoutrements. The sword continues an article of dress, tho' it distinguishes not a gentleman from his valet. To show that a taste for dress and ornament is deeply rooted in human nature, savages display that taste upon the body, having no covering to display it upon. Seldom is a child left to nature: it is deprived of a testicle, a finger, a tooth; or its skin is engraved with figures.

Cloathing hath no slight influence, even with respect to morals. I venture to affirm, at the hazard of being thought paradoxical, that nakedness is more friendly to chastity than covering. Adultery is unknown among savages, even in hot climates where they have scarce any covering. A woman dressed with taste is a more desirable

desirable object than one who always goes naked. Dress beside gives play to the imagination, which pictures to itself many secret beauties, that vanish when rendered familiar by sight: if a lady accidentally discover half a leg, imagination is instantly inflamed, tho' an actress appearing in breeches is beheld with indifference: a naked Venus makes not such an impression, as when a garter only is discovered. In Sparta, men and women lived together without any reserve: public baths were common to both; and in certain games they danced and combated together naked as when born. In a later period, the Spartan dames were much corrupted; occasioned, as authors say, by a shameful freedom of intercourse between the sexes. But remark, that corruption was not confined to the female sex, men having degenerated as much from their original manhood as women from their original chastity; and I have no difficulty to maintain, that gold and silver, admitted contrary to the laws of Lycurgus, were what corrupted both sexes. Opulence could not fail to have the same effect there that it has every where; which is to excite luxury and sensuality. The Spartans accordingly, shaking off austerity of manners, abandoned themselves to pleasure: the most expensive furniture, the softest beds, superb tapestry, precious vases, exquisite wines, delicious viands, were not now too delicate for an effeminate Spartan, once illustrious for every manly virtue. Lycurgus understood human nature better than the writers do who carp at him. It was his intention, to make his countrymen soldiers, not whining lovers: and he justly thought, that familiar intercourse between the sexes would confine their appetites within the bounds of nature; an useful lesson to women of fashion in our days, who expose their nakedness in order to attract and enflame lovers. What justifies this reasoning is, the ascendant that Spartan dames had over their husbands while the laws of Lycurgus were in vigour: they in effect ruled the state as well as their own families. Such a
scendant

scendant cannot be obtained nor preserved but by strict virtue : a woman of loose manners may be the object of loose desire ; but seldom will she gain an ascendant over any man, and never over her husband. Among no people was there more freedom of intercourse than among the ancient Germans : males and females slept promiscuously round the walls of their houses ; and yet we never read of an attempt upon a married woman. The same holds true of the Scotch highlanders.

Cleanliness is an article in external appearance. Whether it be inherent in the nature of man, or only a refinement of polished nations, may at first sight appear doubtful. What pleads for the former is, that cleanliness is remarkable in several nations that have made little progress in the arts of life. The savages of the Caribbee islands, once a numerous tribe, were remarked by writers as neat and cleanly. In the island Otaheite, or King George's island, both sexes are cleanly : they bathe frequently, never eat nor drink without washing before and after, and their garments as well as their persons are kept free of spot or blemish. Ammianus Marcellinus, describing the Gauls, says, that they were cleanly ; and that even the poorest women were never seen with dirty garments. The negroes, particularly those of Ardrah in the slave-coast, have a scrupulous regard to cleanliness. They wash morning and evening, and perfume themselves with aromatic herbs. In the city of Benin, in Guinea, women are employ'd to keep the streets clean ; and in that respect they are not outdone by the Dutch. In Corea, people mourn three years for the death of their parents ; during which time they never wash. Dirtiness must appear dismal to that people, as to us *. But instances are

* Many animals are remarkable for cleanliness. Beavers are so, and so are cats. This must be natural. Tho' a taste for cleanliness is not remarkable in dogs, yet like men they learn to be cleanly.

no less numerous that favour the other side of the question. Amminianus Marcellinus reports of the Huns, that they wore the same coat till it fell to pieces with dirt and rottenness. Plan Carpin, who visited the Tartars anno 1246, says, "That they never wash face nor hands; that they never clean a dish, a pot, nor a garment; that, like swine, they make food of every thing, not excepting the vermin that crawl on them." The present people of Kamskatka answer to that description in every article. The nastiness of North-American savages, in their food, in their cabins, and in their garments, passes all conception. As they never change their garments till they fall to rags, nor ever think of washing them, they are eat up with vermin. The Esquimaux and many other tribes are equally nasty.

As cleanness requires attention and industry, the cleanliness of some savages must be the work of nature; and the dirtiness of others must proceed from indolence counteracting nature. In fact, cleanliness is agreeable to all; and nastiness disagreeable: no person prefers dirt; and even those who are the most accustomed to it, are pleased with a cleanly appearance in others. It is true, that a taste for cleanness, like that for order, for symmetry, for congruity, is extremely faint during its infancy among savages. Its strongest antagonist is indolence, which savages indulge to excess: the great fatigue they undergo in hunting, makes them fond of ease at home; and dirtiness, when once habitual, is not easily conquered. But cleanliness improves gradually with manners, and makes a figure in every industrious nation. Nor is a taste for cleanness bestow'd on man in vain: its final cause is conspicuous, cleanness being extremely wholesome, and nastiness no less unwholesome*.

Thus

* The plague, pestilential fevers, and other putrid diseases, were more frequent

Thus it appears, that a taste for cleanness is inherent in our nature. I say more : cleanliness is evidently a branch of propriety, and consequently a self-duty. The performance is rewarded with approbation ; and the neglect is punished with contempt (a).

A taste for cleanness is not equally distributed among all men ; nor indeed is any branch of the moral sense equally distributed : and if by nature one person be more cleanly than another, a whole nation may be so. I judge that to be the case of the Japanese, so finically clean as to find fault even with the Dutch for dirtiness. Their inns are not an exception, nor their little houses, in which water is always at hand for washing after the operation. I judged it to be also the case of the English, who, high and low, rich and poor, are remarkable for cleanliness all the world over ; and I have often amused myself with so singular a resemblance between islanders, removed at the greatest distance from each other. But I was forc'd to abandon the resemblance, upon a discovery that the English have not always been so cleanly as at present. Many centuries ago, as

in Europe formerly than at present ; especially in great cities, where multitudes were crowded together in small houses, and narrow streets. Paris, in the days of Henry IV. occupied not the third part of its present space, and yet contained nearly the same number of inhabitants ; and in London the houses are much larger, and the streets wider, than before the great fire, 1666. There is also a remarkable alteration in point of diet. Formerly, people of rank lived on salt meat the greater part of the year : at present, fresh meat is common all the year round. Pot-herbs and roots are now a considerable article of food : about London in particular the consumption at the Revolution was not the sixth part of what it is now. Add the great consumption of tea and sugar, which I am told by physicians to be no inconsiderable antiseptics. But the chief cause of all is cleanliness, which is growing more and more universal, especially in the city of London. In Constantinople, putrid diseases reign as much as ever ; not from unhealthiness in the climate, but from the narrowness and nastiness of the streets.

(a) Elements of Criticism, chap. 10.

recorded in monkish history, one cause of the aversion the English had to the Danes, was their cleanliness: they combed their hair, and put on a clean shirt once a-week. And the celebrated Erasmus, who visited England in the reign of Henry VIII. complains of the nastiness and slovenly habits of its people; ascribing to that cause the frequent plagues which at that time infested them. "Their floors," says he, "are commonly of clay strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested a collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and of every thing that is nauseous (a)." A change so extraordinary in the taste and manners of the English, rouses our curiosity; and I flatter myself that the following cause will be satisfactory. A savage, remarkably indolent at home, tho' not insensible of his dirtiness, cannot rouse up activity sufficient to attempt a serious purgation; and would be at a loss where to begin. The industrious, on the contrary, are improved in neatness and propriety by the art or manufacture that constantly employs them: they are never reduced to purge the stable of Augeas; for being prone to action, they suffer not dirt to rest unmolested. Industrious nations accordingly, all the world over, are the most cleanly. Arts and industry had long flourished in Holland, where Erasmus was born and educated: the people were clean above all their neighbours, because they were industrious above all their neighbours; and upon that account the dirtiness of England could not fail to strike a Hollander. At the period mentioned, industry was as great a stranger to England as cleanliness: from which consideration, may it not fairly be inferred, that the English are indebted for their cleanliness to the great progress of industry among them in later times? If this inference hold, it places industry in an amiable light. The Spaniards, who

(a) Epist. 432.

are indolent to a degree, are to this day as dirty as the English were formerly. Madrid, their capital, is nauseously nasty: heaps of unmolested dirt in every street raise in that warm climate a pestiferous steam, which threatens to knock down every stranger. A purgation was lately set on foot by royal authority. But people habituated to dirt are not easily reclaimed: to promote industry is the only effectual remedy *. The nastiness of the streets of Lisbon before the late earthquake was intolerable; and so is at present the nastiness of the streets of Cadiz.

Tho' industry be the chief promoter of cleanliness, yet it is seldom left to operate alone: other causes mix, some to accelerate the progress, some to retard it. The moisture of the Dutch climate has a considerable influence in promoting cleanliness; and joined with industry produces a surprising neatness and cleanliness among people of business: men of figure and fashion, who generally resort to the Hague, the seat of government, are not so cleanly. On the other hand, the French are less cleanly than the English, tho' not less industrious. But the lower classes of people, being in England more at their ease than in France, have a greater taste for living well, and in particular for keeping themselves clean.

A beard gives to the countenance a rough and fierce air, suited to the manners of a rough and fierce people. The same face without

* Till the year 1760, there was not a privy in Madrid, tho' it is plentifully supplied with water. The ordure, during night, was thrown from the windows into the street, where it was gathered into heaps. By a royal proclamation, privies were ordered to be built. The inhabitants, tho' long accustomed to an arbitrary government, resented this proclamation as an infringement of the common rights of mankind, and struggled vigorously against it. The physicians were the most violent opposers: they remonstrated, that if the filth was not thrown into the streets, a fatal sickness would ensue; because the putrescent particles of air, which the filth attracted, would be imbibed by the human body.

a beard appears milder; for which reason, a beard becomes unfashionable in a polished nation. Demosthenes the orator lived in the same period with Alexander the Great, at which time the Greeks begun to leave off beards. A bust however of that orator, found in Herculaneum, has a beard; which must either have been done for him when he was young, or from reluctance in an old man to a new fashion. Barbers were brought to Rome from Sicily in the 454th year after the building of Rome. And it must relate to the time following that period, what Aulus Gellius says (*a*), that people accused of any crime were prohibited to shave their beards till they were absolved. From Hadrian, downward, the Roman Emperors wore beards. Julius Capitolinus reproaches the Emperor Verus for cutting his beard, at the instigation of a concubine. All the Roman generals wore beards in Justinian's time (*b*). When the Pope shaved his beard, it was reckoned a manifest apostasy by the Greek church; because Moses and Jesus Christ were always drawn with beards by the Greek and Latin painters. Upon the dawn of smooth manners in France, the beaus cut their beards into shapes, and curled their whiskers. That fashion produced a whimsical effect, viz. that men of gravity left off beards altogether: a beard in its natural shape was too fierce, even for them; and they could not for shame copy after the beaus.

Language, when brought to any perfection among a polished people, may justly be considered as one of the fine arts; and in that view is handled above. But it belongs to the present sketch, considered as a branch of external behaviour. Every part of external behaviour is influenced by temper and disposition, and

(*a*) Lib. 3. cap. 4.

(*b*) Procopii Historia Vandalica, lib. 2.

language more than any other part. In Elements of Criticism (a) it is observed, that an emotion in many instances bears a resemblance to its cause. The like holds universally in all the natural sounds prompted by passion. Let a passion be bold, rough, cheerful, tender, or humble, still it holds, that the natural sound prompted by it is in the same tone: and hence the reason why these natural sounds are the same in all languages. Some slight resemblance of the same kind is discoverable in many artificial sounds. The language of a savage is harsh; of polite people, smooth; and of women, soft and musical. The tongues of savage nations abound in gutturals, or in nasals: yet one would imagine that such words, pronounced with difficulty, would be avoided by savages, as they are by children. But temper prevails, and suggests to savages harsh sounds, conformable to their roughness and cruelty. The Esquimaux have a language composed of the harshest gutturals; and the tongues of the northern European nations are not remarkably more smooth. The Scotch peasants are a frank and plain people; and their dialect is in the tone of their character. The Huron tongue hath stateliness and energy above most known languages; and the Hurons still retain a certain elevation of mind, which is more conformable to the majesty of their discourse, than to their present low condition. Thus the manners of a people may in some measure be gathered from their language. Nay manners may frequently be gathered from single words. The Hebrew word *LECHOM* signifies both *food* and *fighting*; and *TEREPH* signifies both *food* and *plunder*. *KARAB* signifies *to draw near to one*, and signifies also *to fight*. The Greek word *LEIA*, which signified originally *spoil procured by war or piracy*, came to signify *wealth*. And the great variety of Greek words

(a) Chap. 2. part 6.

signifying *good* and *better*, signified originally *strong* and *violent*.

Government, according to its different kinds, hath considerable influence in forming the tone of a language. Language in a democracy is commonly rough and coarse; in a republic, manly and plain; in a monarchy, courteous and insinuating; in despotism, imperious with respect to inferiors, and humble with respect to superiors. The government of the Greek empire is well represented in Justinian's edicts, termed *Novellæ Constitutiones*, the style of which is stiff, formal, and affectedly stately; but destitute of order, of force, and of ligament. About three centuries ago, Tuscany was filled with small republics, who spoke a dialect manly and plain. Its rough tones were purged off when united under the Great Duke of Tuscany; by which means the Tuscan dialect has arrived nearer to perfection than any other in Italy. The tone of the French language is well suited to the nature of its government: every man is politely submissive to those above him; and this tone forms the character of the language in general, so as even to regulate the tone of the few who have occasion to speak with authority. The freedom of the English government forms the manners of the people: the English language is accordingly more manly and nervous than the French, and abounds more with rough sounds. The Lacedæmonians of old, a proud and austere people, affected to talk with brevity, in the tone of command more than of advice; and hence the Laconic style, dry but masculine. The Attic style is more difficult to be accounted for: it was sweet and copious; and had a remarkable delicacy above the style of any other nation. And yet the democracy of Athens produced rough manners; witness the comedies of Aristophanes, and the orations of Eschines and Demosthenes. We are not so well acquainted with the Athenians as to account for the difference between their language and their manners:

manners: and are equally at a loss about the Russian tongue, which, notwithstanding the barbarity of the people, is smooth and sonorous. All that can be said is, that the operation of a general cause may be disturbed by particular circumstances. Languages resemble the tides: the influence of the moon, which is the general cause of tides, is in several instances overbalanced by particular causes acting in opposition.

There may be observed in some savage tribes, a certain refinement of language that might do honour to a polished people. The Canadians never give a man his proper name, in speaking to him. If he be a relation, he is addressed to in that quality: if a stranger, the speaker gives him some appellation that marks affection; such as, brother, cousin, friend.

From speech we advance to action. Man is naturally prone to motion; witness children, who are never at rest but when asleep. Where reason governs, a man restrains that restless disposition, and never acts without a motive. Savages have few motives to action when the belly is full: their huts require little industry; and their covering of skins, still less. Hunting and fishing employ all their activity. After much fatigue in hunting, rest is sweet; which the savage prolongs, having no motive to action till the time of hunting returns. Savages accordingly, like dogs, are extremely active in the field, and extremely indolent at home *. The savages

* Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus; plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno, ciboque. Fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque, et infirmissimo cuique ex familia, ipsi hebent; mira diversitate naturæ, cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam, et oderint quietem. Tacitus, *De moribus Germanorum*, cap. 15. — [*In English thus*: "While not engaged in war, they do not often spend their time in hunting, but chiefly in indolence, minding nothing but their sleep and food. "The bravest and most warlike among them, having nothing to do, pass the time
" in

ges of the torrid zone are indolent above all others: they go naked; their huts cost them no trouble; and they never hunt except for vegetables, which are their only food. The Spaniards who first landed in Hispaniola, were surprised at the manners of the inhabitants. They are described as lazy, and without ambition; passing part of their time in eating and dancing, and the rest in sleep; having no great share of memory, and still less of understanding. The character given of these savages belongs to all, especially to savages in hot climates. The imperfection of their memory and judgement is occasioned by want of employment. The same imperfection was remarkable in the people of Paraguay, when under Jesuit government; of which afterward (a).

In early times, people lived in a very simple manner, ignorant of such habitual wants as are commonly termed luxury. Rebecca, Rachel, and the daughters of Jethro, tended their fathers flocks: they were really shepherdesses. Young women of fashion drew water from the well with their own hands. The joiner who made the bridal bed of Ulysses, was Ulysses himself (b). The Princess Nausicaa washes the family-cloaths; and the Princes her brothers, upon her return, unyoke the car, and carry in the cloaths (c). Queens, and even female deities, are employ'd in spinning (d). Is it from this fashion that young women in Eng-

“ in a sluggish stupidity, committing the care of the house, the family, and the
 “ culture of the lands, to women, old men, and to the most weakly. Such is
 “ the wonderful diversity of their nature, that they are at once the most indolent
 “ of beings, and the most impatient of rest.”]

(a) Book 2. sketch 1.

(b) Odysses, book 23.

(c) Book 6. & 7.

(d) Book 10.

land are denominated spinsters? Telemachus goes to council with no attendants but two dogs:

“ Soon as in solemn form th’ assembly sat,
 “ From his high dome himself descends in state;
 “ Bright in his hand a pond’rous jav’lin shin’d;
 “ Two dogs, a faithful guard, attend behind.”

ODYSSEY, book 2.

Priam’s car is yoked by his own sons, when he went to redeem from Achilles the body of his son Hector. Telemachus yokes his own car (a). Homer’s heroes kill and dress their own victuals (b). Achilles entertaining Priam, as now mentioned, slew a snow-white sheep; and his two friends flea’d and dressed it. Achilles himself divided the roasted meat among all *.

Not to talk of gold, silver was scarce in England during the reign of the third Edward. Rents were paid in kind; and what money they had was locked up in the coffers of the great barons. Pieces of plate were bequeathed even by kings of England, so trifling in our estimation, that a gentleman of a moderate fortune would be ashamed to mention such in his will.

We next take under consideration the progress of such manners as are more peculiarly influenced by internal disposition; preparing the reader by a general view, before entering into particulars.

* Pope judging it below the dignity of Achilles to act the butcher, suppresses that article, imposing the task upon his two friends. Pope, it would appear, did not consider, that from a lively picture of ancient manners proceeds one of the capital pleasures we have in perusing Homer.

(a) *Odyssey*, book 15.

(b) *Odyssey*, book 19. & 20.

Man is by nature a timid animal, having little ability to secure himself against harm: but he becomes bold in society, and gives vent to passion against his enemies. In the hunter-state, the daily practice of slaughtering innocent animals for food, hardens men in cruelty: they are worse than bears or wolves, being cruel even to their own kind. The calm and sedentary life of a shepherd tends to soften the harsh manners of hunters; and agriculture, requiring the union of many hands in one operation, inspires a taste for mutual good offices. But here comes in the hoarding appetite to disturb that auspicious commencement of civilization. Skilful husbandry, producing the necessities of life in plenty, paves the way to arts and manufactures. Fine houses, splendid gardens, and rich apparel, are desirable objects: the appetite for property becomes headstrong, and to obtain gratification tramples down every obstacle of justice or honour (*a*). Differences arise, fomenting discord and resentment: war is raised, even among those of the same tribe; and while it was lawful for a man to take revenge at his own hand (*b*), that fierce passion swallow'd up all others. Inequality of rank and fortune fostered dissocial passions: witness pride in particular, which produced a custom, once universal among barbarians, of killing men, women, dogs, and horses, for serving a dead chieftain in the other world. Such complication of selfish and stormy passions, tending eagerly to gratification, and rendering society uncomfortable, cannot be stemmed by any human means other than wholesome laws: a momentary obstacle inflames desire; but perpetual restraint deadens even the most fervid passion. The authority of good government gave vigour to kindly affections; and appetite for society, which acts incessantly, tho' not violently, gave a currency to mu-

(*a*) See sketch 3.

(*b*) See Historical Law-tracts, tract 1.

tual good offices. A circumstance concurred to blunt the edge of dissocial passions: the first societies were small; and small states in close neighbourhood produce discord and resentment without end: the junction of many such states into a great kingdom, remove people farther from their enemies, and render them more gentle (a). In that situation, men have leisure and sedateness to relish the comforts of social life: they find that selfish and turbulent passions are subversive of society; and through fondness for society, they patiently undergo the severe discipline of restraining passion, and smoothing manners. Violent passions that disturb the peace of society have subsided, and are now seldom heard of: humanity is in fashion, and social affections prevail. Men improve in urbanity by conversing with women; and however selfish at heart, they conciliate favour, by assuming an air of disinterestedness. Selfishness thus refined becomes an effectual cause of civilization. But what follows? Turbulent and violent passions are buried, never again to revive; leaving the mind totally ingrossed by self-interest. In the original state of hunters and fishers, there being little connection among individuals, every man minds his own concerns, and selfishness governs. The discovery that hunting and fishing are best carried on in company, promotes some degree of society in that state: it gains ground in the shepherd-state, and makes a capital figure where husbandry and commerce flourish. Private concord is promoted by social affection; and a nation is prosperous in proportion as the *amor patriæ* prevails. But wealth, acquired whether by conquest or commerce, is productive of luxury and sensuality. As these increase, social affections decline, and at last vanish. This is visible in every opulent city that has long flourished in extensive commerce. Selfishness becomes the ruling passion: friendship is no more; and even blood-relation is

(a) See this more fully handled, book 2. sketch 1.

little regarded. Every man studies his own interest ; and love of gain and of sensual pleasure are idols worshipped by all. And thus in the progress of manners, men end as they begun : selfishness is no less eminent in the last and most polished state of society, than in the first and most savage state.

From a general view of the progress of manners, we descend to particulars. And the first scene that presents itself is, cruelty to strangers, extended in process of time against members of the same tribe. Anger and resentment are predominant in savages, who never think of smothering passion. But this character is not universal : some tribes are remarkable for humanity, as mentioned in the first sketch. Anger and resentment formed the character of our European ancestors, and made them fierce and cruel. The Goths were so prone to blood, that in their first inroads into the Roman territories they massacred man, woman, and child. Procopius reports, that in one of these inroads they left Italy thin of inhabitants. They were however an honest people ; and by the polish they received in the civilized parts of Europe, they became no less remarkable for humanity, than formerly for cruelty. Totila, their king, having mastered Rome after a long and bloody siege, permitted not a single person to be killed in cold blood, nor the chastity of any woman to be attempted. One cannot without horror think of the wanton cruelties exercised by the Tartars against the nations invaded by them under Gengizcan and Timor Bec.

A Scythian, says Herodotus, presents the king with the heads of the enemies he has killed in battle ; and the man who brings not a head, gets no share of the plunder. He adds, that many Scythians clothe themselves with the skins of men, and make use of the skulls of their enemies to drink out of. Diodorus Siculus reports of the Gauls, that they carry home the heads of their enemies slain in battle ; and after embalming them, deposit them in chests as their chief trophy ; bragging of the sums offered for these heads

heads by the friends of the deceased, and refused. In similar circumstances men are the same all the world over. The scalping of enemies, in daily use among the North-American savages, is equally cruel and barbarous.

No savages are more cruel than the Greeks and Trojans were, as described by Homer; men butchered in cold blood, towns reduced to ashes, sovereigns exposed to the most humbling indignities, no respect paid to age nor to sex. The young Adrastus (*a*), thrown from his car, and lying on his face in the dust, obtained quarter from Menelaus. Agamemnon upbraided his brother for lenity: "Let none from destruction escape, not even the lisping infant in the mother's arms: all her sons must with Ilium fall, and on her ruins unburied remain." He pierced the suppliant with his spear; and setting his foot on the body, pulled it out. Hector, having stript Patroclus of his arms, drags the slain along, vowing to lop the head from the trunk, and to give the mangled corse a prey to the dogs of Troy. And the seventeenth book of the Iliad is wholly employ'd in describing the contest about the body between the Greeks and Trojans. Beside the brutality of preventing the last duties from being performed to a dead friend, it is a low scene, unworthy of heroes. It was equally brutal in Achilles to drag the corse of Hector to the ships, tied to his car. In a scene between Hector and Andromache (*b*), the treatment of vanquished enemies is pathetically described; sovereigns massacred, and their bodies left a prey to dogs and vultures; sucking infants dash'd against the pavement; ladies of the first rank forc'd to perform the lowest acts of slavery. Hector doth not dissemble, that if Troy were conquered, his poor wife would be condemned to draw water like the vilest slave. Hecuba, in Eu-

(*a*) Book 6. of the Iliad.

(*b*) Iliad, book 6.

ripides, laments, that she was chained like a dog at Agamemnon's gate; and the same savage manners are described in many other Greek tragedies. Prometheus makes free with the heavenly fire, in order to give life to man. As a punishment for bringing rational creatures into existence, the gods decree, that he be chained to a rock, and abandoned to birds of prey. Vulcan is introduced by Æschylus rattling the chain, nailing one end to a rock, and the other to the breast-bone of the criminal. Who but an American savage can at present behold such a spectacle and not be shocked at it? A scene representing a woman murdered by her children, would be hissed by every modern audience; and yet that horrid scene was represented with applause in the *Electra* of Sophocles. Stobæus reports a saying of Menander, that even the gods cannot inspire a soldier with civility: no wonder that the Greek soldiers were brutes and barbarians, when war was waged, not only against the state, but against every individual. At present, humanity prevails among soldiers as among others; because we make war only against a state, not against individuals. The Greeks are the less excusable for their cruelty, as they appear to have been sensible that humanity is a cardinal virtue. Barbarians are always painted by Homer as cruel; polished nations as tender and compassionate:

“ Ye gods! (he cried) upon what barren coast,

“ In what new region is Ulysses tost;

“ Possess'd by wild barbarians fierce in arms,

“ Or men whose bosom tender pity warms?”

ODYSSEY, *book* 13. 241.

Cruelty is inconsistent with true heroism; and accordingly very little of the latter is discoverable in any of Homer's warriors. So much did they retain of the savage character, as, even without blushing,

blushing, to fly from an enemy superior in bodily strength. Diomedes, who makes an illustrious figure in the fifth book of the Iliad, retires when Hector appears: "Diomedes beheld the chief, "and shuddered to his inmost soul." Antilochus, son of Nestor, having slain Melanippus (*a*), rushed forward, eager to seize his bright arms. But seeing Hector, he fled like a beast of prey who shuns the gathering hinds. And the great Hector himself shamefully turns his back upon the near approach of Achilles: "Periphetes, endowed with every virtue, renowned in the race, great "in war, in prudence excelling his fellows, gave glory to Hector, covering the chief with renown." One would expect a fierce combat between these two bold warriors. Not so. Periphetes stumbling, fell to the ground; and Hector was not ashamed to transfix with his spear the unresisting hero.

In the same tone of character, nothing is more common among Homer's warriors than to insult a vanquish'd foe. Patroclus, having beat Cebriones to the ground with a huge stone, derides his fall in the following words.

"Good heav'ns! what active feats yon artist shows,

"What skilful divers are our Phrygian foes!

"Mark with what ease they sink into the sand.

"Pity! that all their practice is by land."

The Greeks are represented (*b*) one after another stabbing the dead body of Hector: "Nor stood an Argive near the chief who "inflicted not a wound. Surely now, said they, more easy of "access is Hector, than when he launched on the ships brands of "devouring fire."

(*a*) Book 15.

(*b*) Book 22.

When such were the manners of warriors at the siege of Troy, it is no wonder that the heroes on both sides were not less intent on stripping the slain than on victory. They are every where represented as greedy of spoil.

The Jews did not yield to the Greeks in cruelty. It is unnecessary to give instances, as the historical books of the Old Testament are in the hands of every one. I shall select one instance for a specimen, dreadfully cruel without any just provocation: "And David gathered all the people together, and went to Rabbah, and fought against it, and took it. And he brought forth the people that were therein, and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln: and thus did he unto all the cities of the children of Ammon (a)."

That cruelty was predominant among the Romans, is evident from every one of their historians. Brutality to their offspring was conspicuous. Children were held, like cattle, to be the father's property: and so tenacious was the *patria potestas*, that if a son or daughter sold to be a slave was set free, he or she fell again under the father's power, to be sold a second time, and even a third time. The power of life and death over children was much less unnatural, while no public tribunal existed for punishing crimes. A son, being a slave, could have no property of his own. Julius Cæsar was the first who privileged a son to retain for his own use spoils acquired in war. When law became a lucrative profession, what a son gained in that way was declared to be his property. In Athens, a man had power of life and death over his children; but as they were not slaves, what they acquired belonged to themselves. So late as the days of Dioclesian, a son's mar-

(a) 2 Samuel, xii. 29.

riage did not dissolve the Roman *patria potestas* (a). But the power of selling children wore out of use (b). When powers so unnatural were given to men over their children, and exercised so tyrannically as to make a law necessary prohibiting the disinheriting of children, can there be any doubt of their cruelty to others? During the second triumvirate, horrid cruelties were every day perpetrated without pity or remorse. Antony, having ordered Cicero to be beheaded, and the head to be brought to him, viewed it with savage pleasure. His wife Fulvia laid hold of it, struck it on the face, uttered many bitter execrations, and having placed it between her knees, drew out the tongue, and pierced it with a bodkin. The delight it gave the Romans to see wild beasts set loose against one another in their circus, is a proof not at all ambiguous of their taste for blood, even at the time of their highest civilization. The Edile Scaurus sent at one time to Rome 150 panthers, Pompey 410, and Augustus 420, for the public spectacles. Their gladiatorial combats are not so clear a proof of their ferocity: the courage and address exerted in these combats gave a manly pleasure that balanced in some measure the pain of seeing these poor fellows cut and slash one another. And that the Romans were never cured of their itch for blood, appears from Caligula, Nero, and many other monsters, who governed the Romans from Augustus downward. There is no example in modern times of such monsters in France, tho' an absolute monarchy, nor even in Turkey.

Ferocity was in the Roman empire considerably mollified by literature and other fine arts; but it acquired new vigour upon the irruption of the barbarous nations who crushed that empire. In the year 559, Clotaire, King of the Franks, burnt alive his son, with

(a) l. 1. Cod. cap. De patria potestate.

(b) l. 10. eod.

all his friends, because they had rebelled against him. Queen Brunehaud, being by Clotaire II. condemned to die, was dragged through the camp at a horse's tail till she gave up the ghost. The ferocity of European nations became altogether intolerable during the anarchy of the feudal system. Many peasants in the northern provinces of France, being sorely oppressed in civil wars carried on by the nobles against each other, turned desperate, gathered together in bodies, resolving to extirpate all the nobles. A party of them, anno 1358, forc'd open the castle of a knight, hung him up upon a gallows, violated in his presence his wife and daughters, roasted him upon a spit, compelled his wife and children to eat of his flesh, and terminated that horrid scene with massacring the whole family, and burning the castle. When they were asked, says Froissard, why they committed such abominable actions, their answer was, "That they did as they saw others do; and" "that all the nobles in the world ought to be destroy'd." The nobles, when they got the upper hand, were equally cruel. They put all to fire and sword; and massacred every peasant who came in the way, without troubling themselves to separate the innocent from the guilty. The Count de Ligny encouraged his nephew, a boy of fifteen, to kill with his own hand some prisoners who were his countrymen; in which, says Monstrelet, the young man took great delight. How much worse than brutal must have been the manners of that age! for even a beast of prey kills not but when instigated by hunger. The third act of stealing from the lead-mines in Derby, was, by a law of Edward I. punished in the following manner: A hand of the criminal was nailed to a table; and in that state he was left without meat or drink, having no means for freedom but to employ the one hand to cut off the other. The barbarity of the English at that period made severe punishments necessary: but the punishment mentioned goes beyond severity; it is brutal cruelty. The barbarous treatment
of

of the Jews during the dark ages of Christianity, gives pregnant evidence, that Christians were not short of Pagans in cruelty. Poison and assassination were most licentiously perpetrated, no farther back than the last century. Some pious men made vigorous efforts in more than one general council to have assassination condemned, as repugnant to the law of God ; but in vain *.

I wish to soften the foregoing scene : it may be softened a little. Among barbarians, punishments must be sanguinary ; as their bodies only are sensible of pain, not their minds.

The restoration of arts and sciences in Europe, followed with a reformation in religion, had a wonderful effect in sweetening manners, and promoting the interests of society. Of all crimes high treason is the most involved in circumstances, and upon that account the most difficult to be defined or circumscribed : at the same time, the influence of government upon its judges seldom permits a fair trial. And yet, for that crime are reserved the most exquisite torments. In England, the punishment is, to cut up the criminal alive, to tear out his heart, to dash it about his ears, and to throw it into the flames. The same punishment continues in form, not in reality : the heart indeed is torn out, but not till the criminal is strangled. Even the virulence of religious zeal is considerably abated. Savonarola was condemned to the flames as an impious impostor ; but he was first privately strangled. The fine arts, which humanize manners, were in Italy at that time accelerating toward perfection. The famous Latimer was in England

* It required the ferocity and cruelty of a barbarous age to give currency to a Mahometan doctrine, That the sword is the most effectual means of converting men to a dominant religion. The establishment of the Inquisition will not permit me to say, that Christians never put in practice a doctrine so detestable : on the contrary, they surpass the Mahometans, giving no quarter to heretics, either in this life, or in that to come. The eternity of hell-torments is a doctrine no less inconsistent with the justice of the Deity, than with his benevolence.

condemned to be burnt for heresy: but bags of gunpowder were put under his arms, that he might be burnt with the least pain. Even Knox, a violent Scotch reformer, acknowledges, that Wishart was strangled before he was thrown into the flames for heresy. So bitter was the late persecution against the Jesuits, that not only were their persons proscribed, but in many places their books, not even excepting books upon mathematics, and other abstract subjects. That persecution resembled in many particulars the persecution against the knights-templars: fifty-nine of the latter were burnt alive: the former were really less innocent; and yet such humanity prevails at present, that not a drop of Jesuit-blood has been shed. A bankrupt in Scotland, if he have not suffered by unavoidable misfortune, is by law condemned to wear a party-coloured garment. That law is not now put in execution, unless where a bankrupt deserves to be stigmatized for his culpable misconduct.

Whether the following late instance of barbarity do not equal any of those above mentioned, I leave to my readers. No traveller who visited Petersburg during the reign of the Empress Elisabeth can be ignorant of Madam Lapouchin, the great ornament of that court. Her intimacy with a foreign ambassador having brought her under suspicion of plotting with him against the government, she was condemned to undergo the punishment of the knout. At the place of execution she appeared in a genteel undress, which heightened her beauty. Of whatever indiscretion she might have been guilty, the sweetness of her countenance, and her composure, left not in the spectators the slightest suspicion of guilt. Her youth also, her beauty, her life and spirit pleaded for her.—But all in vain: she was deserted by all, and abandoned to furly executioners; whom she beheld with astonishment, seeming to doubt whether such preparations were intended for her. The cloak that covered her bosom being pulled off, modesty took the alarm,

alarm, and made her start back: she turned pale, and burst into tears. One of the executioners stripp'd her naked to the waist, seized her by both hands, and threw her on his back, raising her some inches from the ground. The other executioner laying hold of her delicate limbs with his rough fists, put her in a posture for receiving the punishment. Then laying hold of the knout, a sort of whip made of a leathern strap, he retreated a few steps, and with a single stroke tore off a slip of skin from the neck downward, repeating his strokes till all the skin of her back was cut off in small slips. The executioner finished his task with cutting out her tongue; after which she was banished to Siberia*.

The native inhabitants of the island Amboyna are Malaysians. Those on the sea-coast are subject to the Dutch: those in the inland parts are declared enemies to the Dutch, and never give quarter. A Dutch captive, after being confined five days without food, is ripped up, his heart cut out, and the head, sever'd from the body, is preserved in spice for a trophy. Those who can show the greatest number of Dutch heads are the most honourable.

In early times, when revenge and cruelty trampled on law, people formed associations for securing their lives and their possessions. These were common in Scandinavia and in Scotland. They were also common in England during the Anglo-Saxon period, and for some ages after the Conquest. But instead of supporting justice, they contributed more than any other cause to a-

* The present Empress has laid an excellent foundation for civilizing her people, which is a Code of laws, founded on principles of civil liberty, banishing slavery and torture, and expressing the utmost regard for the life, property, and liberty, of all her subjects, high and low. Peter I. reformed many bad customs: but being rough in his own manners, he left the manners of his people as he found them. If this Empress happen to enjoy a long and prosperous reign, she may possibly accomplish the most difficult of all undertakings, that of polishing her people. No task is too arduous for a woman of such spirit.

narchy and confusion, the members protecting each other, even in robbery and murder. They were suppressed in England by a statute of Richard II.; and in Scotland by reiterated statutes.

Roughness and harshness of manners are generally connected with cruelty; and the manners of the Greeks and Trojans are accordingly represented in the *Iliad* as remarkably rough and harsh. When the armies were ready to engage (*a*), Menestheus King of Athens, and Ulysses of Ithaca, are bitterly reproached by Agamemnon for lingering, while others were more forward. "Son of Peleus, he said, and thou versed in artful deceit, in mischief only wise, why trembling shrink ye back from the field; why wait till others engage in fight? You it became, as first in rank, the first to meet the flame of war. Ye first to the banquet are called when we spread the feast. Your delight is to eat, to regale, to quaff unlimited the generous wine." In the fifth book Sarpedon upbraids Hector for cowardice. And Tlepolemus, ready to engage with Sarpedon, attacks him first with reviling and scurrilous words. Because Hector was not able to rescue the dead body of Sarpedon from the Greeks, he is upbraided by Glaucus, Sarpedon's friend, in the following words. "Hector, tho' specious in form, distant art thou from valour in arms. Undeserved hast thou fame acquired, when thus thou shrinkest from the field. Thou sustainest not the dreadful arm, not even the sight of godlike Ajax. Thou hast shunned his face in the fight: thou darest not approach his spear."

Rough and harsh manners produced slavery; and slavery fostered rough and harsh manners, by giving them constant exercise. The brutality of the Spartans to the Helots, their slaves, is a reproach to the human species. Beside the harshest usage, they were prevented from multiplying by downright murder and massacre.

(*a*) Book 4.

Why did not such barbarity render the Spartans detestable, instead of being respected by their neighbours as the most virtuous people in Greece? There can be but one reason, that the Greeks were all of them cruel, the Spartans a little more perhaps than the rest. In Rome, a slave, chain'd at the gate of every great house, gave admittance to the guests invited to a feast: could any but barbarians behold such a spectacle without pain? If a Roman citizen was found murdered in his own house, his whole household-slaves, perhaps two or three hundred, were put to death without mercy, unless they could detect the murderer. Such a law, cruel and unjust, could never have been enacted among a people of any humanity.

Whence the rough and harsh manners of our West-Indian planters, but from the unrestrained licence of venting ill humour upon their negro slaves *? Why are carters a rugged set of men? Plainly because

* C'est de cet esclavage des nègres, que les Créoles tirent peut-être en partie un certain caractère, qui les fait paroître bizarres, fantasques, et d'une société peu goûtée en Europe. A peine peuvent-ils marcher dans l'enfance, qu'ils voient autour d'eux des hommes grands et robustes, destinés à deviner, à prévenir leur volonté. Ce premier coup d'œil doit leur donner d'eux-mêmes l'opinion la plus extravagante. Rarement exposés à trouver de la résistance dans leurs fantaisies même injustes, ils prennent un esprit de présomption, de tyrannie, et de mépris extrême, pour une grande portion du genre humain. Rien n'est plus insolent que l'homme qui vit presque toujours avec ses inférieurs; mais quand ceux-ci sont des esclaves, accoutumés à servir des enfans, à craindre jusqu'à des cris qui doivent leur attirer des châtimens, qui peuvent devenir des maîtres qui n'ont jamais obéi, des méchans qui n'ont jamais été punis, des foux qui mettent des hommes à la chaîne? *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des établissemens des Européens dans les Deux Indes, l. 4. p. 201.* — [In English thus: "It is from this slavery of the negroes, that the "Creoles derive in a great measure that character which makes them appear capricious and fantastical, and of a style of manners which is not relished in Europe. Scarcely have the children learned to walk, when they see around them "tall and robust men, whose province it is to guess their inclinations, and to pre-
"vent

because horses, their slaves, submit without resistance. An ingenious writer, describing Guiana in the southern continent of America, observes, that the negroes, who are more numerous than the whites, must be kept in awe by severity of discipline. And he endeavours to justify the practice; urging, that beside contributing to the safety of the white inhabitants, it makes the slaves themselves less unhappy. "Impossibility of attainment," says he, "never fails to annihilate desire of enjoyment; and rigid treatment, suppressing every hope of liberty, makes them peaceably submit to slavery." Sad indeed must be the condition of slaves, if harsh treatment contribute to make them less unhappy. Such reasoning may be relished by rough European planters, intent upon gain: I am inclined however to believe, that the harsh treatment of these poor people is more owing to the avarice of their masters, than to their own perverseness *. That slaves in all ages have been harshly treated, is a melancholy truth. One exception I know, and but one, which I gladly mention in honour of the Mandingo negroes. Their slaves, who are numerous, receive

vent their wishes. This first observation must give them the most extravagant opinion of themselves. From being seldom accustomed to meet with any opposition, even in their most unreasonable whims, they acquire a presumptuous and tyrannical disposition, and entertain an extreme contempt for a great part of the human race. None is so insolent as the man who lives almost always with his inferiors; but when these inferiors are slaves accustomed to serve infants, and to fear even their crying, for which they must suffer punishment, what can be expected of those masters who have never obeyed, profligates who have never met with chastisement, and madmen who load their fellow-creatures with chains?"

* In England slavery subsisted so late as the sixteenth century. A commission was issued by Queen Elizabeth, anno 1574, for enquiring into the lands and goods of all her bondmen and bondwomen in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Glo'ster, in order to compound with them for their manumission or freedom, that they might enjoy their own lands and goods as free men.

very

very gentle treatment; the women especially, who are generally so well dressed as not to be distinguishable from those who are free.

Many political writers are of opinion, that for crimes instigated by avarice only, slavery for life and hard work, would be a more adequate punishment than death. I would subscribe to that opinion but for the following consideration, that the having such criminals perpetually in view, would harden the hearts of the spectators, and eradicate pity, a capital moral passion. Behold the behaviour of the Dutch in the island of Amboyna. A native who is found guilty of theft is deprived of his ears and nose, and made a slave for life. William Funnell, who was there anno 1705, reports, that 500 of these wretches were secured in prison, and never suffered to go abroad but in order to saw timber, to cut stone, or to carry heavy burdens. Their food is a pittance of coarse rice boiled in water, and their bed the hard ground. What is still worse, poor people who happen to run in debt are turned over to the servants of the East-India company, who send them to work among their slaves, with a daily allowance of two pence, which goes to the creditor. A nation must be devoid of bowels, who can establish such inhumanity by law. But time has rendered that practice familiar to the Dutch, so as to behold with absolute indifference, the multiplied miseries of their fellow-creatures. It appears indeed, that such a punishment would be more effectual than death to repress theft; but can any one doubt, that society would suffer more by eradicating pity and humanity, than it would gain by removing every one by death who is guilty of theft? At the same time, the Dutch, however cruel to the natives, are extremely complaisant to one another: seldom is any one of them punished but for murder: a small sum will procure pardon for any other crime.

A degree of coarseness and indelicacy is connected with rough

manners. The manners of the Greeks, as copied by Plautus and Terence from Menander and other Greek writers, were extremely coarse; such as may be expected in a people living among their slaves, without any society with virtuous women. The behaviour of Demosthenes and Eschines to each other in their public harangues, is woefully coarse. But Athens was a democracy; and a democracy, above all other governments, is rough and licentious. In the Athenian comedy, neither gods nor men are spared. The most respectable persons of the republic are ridiculed by name, in the comedies of Aristophanes, which wallow in looseness and detraction. In the third act of *Andromaché*, a tragedy of Euripides, Peleus and Menelaus, Kings of Theffaly and Sparta, fall into downright ribaldry; Menelaus swearing that he would not give up his victim, and Peleus threatening to knock him down with his staff. The manners of Jason, in the tragedy of *Medea* by Euripides, are woefully indelicate. With unparalleled ingratitude to his wife Medea, he, in her presence, makes love to the King of Corinth's daughter, and obtains her in marriage. Instead of shunning a person he had so deeply injured, he endeavours to excuse himself to her in a very sneaking manner, "that he was an exile like herself, without support; and that his marriage would acquire powerful friends to them and to their children." Could he imagine, that such frigid reasons would touch a woman of any spirit? But the most striking picture of indelicate manners, is exhibited in the tragedy of *Alcestes*. Admetus prevails upon Alcestes, his loving and beloved wife, to die in his stead. What a barbarian must the man be, who grasps at life upon such a condition? How ridiculous is the bombast flourish of Admetus, that, if he were Orpheus, he would pierce to hell, brave the three-headed Cerberus, and restore his wife to earth again! and how indecently does he scold his father, for refusing to die for him! What pretext could the monster have to complain of his father, when

when he himself was so disgracefully fond of life, as even to solicit his beloved spouse to die in his stead! What stronger instance, after all, would one require of indelicacy in the manners of the Greeks, than that they held all the world except themselves to be barbarians? In that particular, however, they are not altogether singular. Tho' the Tartars, as mentioned above, were foul feeders, and hoggishly nasty, yet they were extremely proud, despising, like the Greeks, every other nation. The people of Congo think the world to be the work of angels; except their own country, which they hold to be the handiwork of the supreme architect. The Greenlanders have a high conceit of themselves; and in private make a mock of the Europeans, or Kablunets, as they call them. Despising arts and sciences, they value themselves on their skill in catching seals, conceiving it to be the only useful art. They hold themselves to be the only civilized and well-bred people; and when they see a modest stranger, they say, "he begins to be a man;" that is, to be like one of themselves.

So coarse and indelicate were Roman manners, that whipping was a punishment inflicted on the officers of the army, not even excepting centurions (a). Doth it not show extreme grossness of manners, to express in plain words the parts that modesty bids us conceal? and yet this is common in Greek and Roman writers. In the Cyclops of Euripides there is represented a scene of the vice against nature, grossly obscene, without the least disguise. How wofully indelicate must the man have been, who could sit down gravely to compose such a piece! and how dissolute must the spectators have been, who could behold such a scene without hissing! Next to the indecency of exposing one's nudities in good company, is the talking of them without reserve. Horace is extremely obscene, and Martial no less. But I censure neither of

(a) Julius Capitolinus, in the life of Albinus.

them, and as little the Queen of Navarre for her tales; for they wrote according to the manners of the times. It is the manners I censure, not the writers. A woman taken in adultery was prostituted in the public street to all comers, a bell ringing the whole time. This abominable practice was abolished by the Emperor Theodosius (a).

The manners of Europe, before the revival of letters, were no less coarse than cruel. In the Cartularies of Charlemagne, judges are forbid to hold courts but in the morning, with an empty stomach. It would appear, that men in those days were not ashamed to be seen drunk, even in a court of justice. It was customary, both in France and Italy, to collect for sport all the strumpets in the neighbourhood, and to make them run races. Several feudal tenures give evidence of manners both low and coarse. Struvius mentions a tenure, binding the vassal, on the birth-day of his lord, to dance and fart before him. The cod-piece, which a few centuries ago made part of a man's dress, and which swelled by degrees to a monstrous size, testifies shamefully-coarse manners; and yet it was a modest ornament, compared with one used in France during the reign of Lewis XI. which was the figure of a man's privy parts worn upon the coat or breeches. In the same period, the judgement of Paris was a favourite theatrical entertainment: three women stark-naked represented the three goddesses, Juno, Venus, and Minerva. Nick-names, so common not long ago, are an instance of the same coarseness of manners; for to fix a nick-name on a man, is to use him with contemptuous familiarity. In the thirteenth century, many clergymen refused to administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper, unless they were paid for it *.

Swearing

(a) Socrates, Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 18.

* Corpus Christi tenentes in manibus, (says the canon), ac si dicerent, Quid mihi vultis

Swearing as an expletive of speech, is a violent symptom of rough and coarse manners. Such swearing prevails among all barbarous nations. Even women in Plautus swear fluently. Swearing prevailed in Spain and in France, till it was banished by polite manners. Our Queen Elifabeth was a bold swearer; and the English populace, who are rough beyond their neighbours, are noted by strangers for that vice. Tho' swearing in order to enforce an expression, is not in itself immoral; it is however hurtful in its consequences, rendering sacred names too familiar. God's beard, the common oath of William Rufus, suggests an image of our maker as an old man with a long beard. In vain have acts of parliament been made against swearing: it is easy to evade the penalty, by coining new oaths; and as that vice proceeds from an overflow of spirits, people in that condition brave penalties. Polished manners are the only effectual cure for that malady.

When a people begin to emerge out of barbarity, loud mirth and rough jokes come in place of rancour and resentment. About a century ago, it was usual for the servants and retainers of the court of session in Scotland, to break out into riotous mirth and uproar the last day of every term, throwing bags, dust, sand, or stones, all around. We have undoubted evidence of that disorderly practice from an act of the court, prohibiting it under a severe penalty, as dishonourable to the court, and unbecoming the civility requisite in such a place (a).

And this leads to the lowness of ancient manners; plainly distinguishable from simplicity of manners: the latter is agreeable, not the former. Among the ancient Egyptians, to cram a man

vultis dare, et ego eum vobis tradam? — [*In English thus*: “Holding the body of “Christ in their hands, as if they said, What will you give me for this?”]

(a) Act of Sederunt, 21st February 1663.

was an act of high respect. Joseph, the King's first minister, in order to honour Benjamin above his brethren, gave him a five-fold mess (a). The Greeks in their feasts distinguished their heroes by a double portion (b). Ulysses cut a fat piece out of the chine of a wild boar for Demodocus the bard (c). The same respectful politeness is practised at present among the American savages; so much are all men alike in similar circumstances. Telemachus (d) complains bitterly of Penelope's suitors, that they were gluttons, and consumed his beef and mutton. The whole 14th book of the *Odyssey*, containing the reception of Ulysses by Eumæus the swine-herd, is miserably low. Manners must be both gross and low, where common beggars are admitted to the feasts of princes, and receive scraps from their hands (e). In Rome every guest brought his own napkin to a feast. A slave carried it home, filled with what was left from the entertainment. Sophocles, in his tragedy of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, represents Clytemnestra stepping down from her car, and exhorting her servants to look after her baggage, with the anxiety and minuteness of a lady's waiting-woman. Homer paints in lively colours the riches of the Phœacians, their skill in navigation, the magnificence of the king's court, of his palace, and of the public buildings. But, with the same breath, he describes Nausicaa, the king's daughter, travelling to the river on a waggon of greasy cloaths, to be washed there by her and her maids. Possibly it will be urged, that such circumstances, however low in our opinion, might appear other-

(a) Gen. xliii. 34.

(b) *Odyssey*, b. 8. v. 513. b. 15. v. 156.

(c) *Odyssey*, b. 8. v. 519.

(d) *Odyssey*, b. 2.

(e) See 17th & 18th books of the *Odyssey*.

wife to the Greeks. If they had appeared low to the Greeks, they would not have been introduced by their greatest poet. But what does this prove, other than that the Greeks were low in their manners? Their manners did not correspond to the delicacy of their taste in the fine arts. Nor can it be expected that they should correspond, when the Greeks were strangers to that polite society with women which refines behaviour, and elevates manners. The first kings in Greece, as Thucydides observes, were elective, having no power but to command their armies in time of war; which resembles the government that obtains at present in the isthmus of Darien. They had no written laws, being governed by custom merely. To live by plunder was held honourable; for it was their opinion, that the rules of justice are not intended for restraining the powerful. All strangers were accounted enemies, as among the Romans; and inns were unknown, because people lived at home, having very little intercourse even with those of their own nation. Inns were unknown in Germany; and to this day are unknown in the remote parts of the highlands of Scotland; but for an opposite reason, that hospitality prevailed greatly among the ancient Germans, and continues to prevail so much among our highlanders, that a gentleman takes it for an affront if a stranger pass his house. At a congress between Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England, among other spectacles for public entertainment, the two kings had a wrestling-match. Had they forgot that they were sovereign princes?

One would imagine war to be a foil too rough for the growth of civilization; and yet it is not always an unkindly foil. War between two small tribes is fierce and cruel: but a large state mitigates resentment, by directing it, not against individuals, but against the state in general. We know no enemies but those who are in arms: we have no resentment against others, but rather
find

find a pleasure in treating them with humanity. Barbarity and cruelty, having thus in war few individuals for their objects, naturally subside; and magnanimity in their stead transforms soldiers from brutes to heroes. Some time ago, it was usual in France to demand battle; and it was held dishonourable to decline it, however unequal the match. Here was heroism without prudence; but in all reformation it is natural to go from one extreme to the other. While the King of England held any possessions in France, war was perpetual between the two nations, which was commonly carried on with more magnanimity than is usual between inveterate enemies. It became customary to give prisoners their freedom, upon a simple parole to return with their ransom at a day named. The same was the custom in the border-wars between the English and Scots, before their union under one monarch. Both parties found their account equally in such honourable behaviour. Edward Prince of Wales, in a pitched battle against the French, took the illustrious Bertrand du Guesclin prisoner. He long declined to accept a ransom; but finding it whispered that he was afraid of that hero, he instantly set him at liberty without a ransom. This may be deemed impolitic or whimsical: but is love of glory less praise-worthy than love of conquest? The Duke of Guise, victor in the battle of Dreux, rested all night in the field of battle; and gave the Prince of Condé, his prisoner, a share of his bed, where they lay like brothers. The Chevalier Bayard, commander of a French army *anno* 1524, being mortally wounded in retreating from the Imperialists, placed himself under a tree, his face however to the enemy. The Marquis de Pescara, General of the Imperial forces, finding him dead in that posture, behaved with the generosity of a gallant adversary: he directed his body to be embalmed, and to be sent to his relations in the most honourable manner. Magnanimity and heroism, in which benevolence is an essential ingredient, are inconsistent with

with cruelty, perfidy, or any groveling passion. Never was gallantry in war carried to a greater height, than between the English and Scotch borderers before the crowns were united. The night after the battle of Otterburn, the victors and vanquished lay promiscuously in the same camp, without apprehending the least danger one from the other. The manners of ancient warriors were very different. Homer's hero, tho' superior to all in bodily strength, takes every advantage of his enemy; and never feels either compassion or remorse. The politic of the Greeks and Romans in war, was to weaken the state by plundering its territory, and destroying its people. Humanity with us prevails even in war. Individuals not in arms are secure, which saves much innocent blood. Prisoners were set at liberty upon paying a ransom; and by later improvements in manners, even that practice is left off, as too mercantile, a more honourable practice being substituted, viz. a cartel for exchange of prisoners. Humanity was carried to a still greater height, in our late war with France, by an agreement between the Duke de Noailles and the Earl of Stair, That the hospitals for the sick and wounded soldiers should be secure from all hostilities. The humanity of the Duke de Randan in the same war, makes an illustrious figure even in the present age, remarkable for humanity to enemies. When the French troops were compelled to abandon their conquests in the electorate of Hanover, their Generals every where burnt their magazines, and plundered the people. The Duke de Randan, who commanded in the city of Hanover, put the magistrates in possession of his magazines, requesting them to distribute the contents among the poor; and he was beside extremely vigilant to prevent his soldiers from committing acts of violence *. The necessity of fortifying

* Such kindness in an enemy from whom nothing is expected but mischief, is an illustrious instance of humanity. And a similar instance will not make the less

fortifying towns to guard from destruction the innocent and defenceless, affords convincing evidence of the savage cruelty that prevailed in former times. By the growth of humanity, such fortifications have become less frequent; and they serve no purpose at present but to defend against invasion; in which view a small fortification, if but sufficient for the garrison, is greatly preferable; being constructed at a much less expence, and having no mouths to provide for but the garrison only.

figure that it was done by a man of inferior rank. When Mons. Thurot, during our late war with France, appeared on the coast of Scotland with three armed vessels, the terror he at first spread, soon yielded to admiration inspired by his humanity. He paid a full price for every thing he wanted; and in general behaved with so much affability, that a countryman ventured to complain to him of an officer who had taken from him fifty or sixty guineas. The officer acknowledged the fact, but said, that he had divided the money among his men. Thurot ordered the officer to give his bill for the money, which, he said, should be stopped out of his pay, if they were so fortunate as to return to France. Compare this incident with that of the great Scipio, celebrated in Roman story, who restored a beautiful bride to the bridegroom, and it will not suffer by the comparison. Another instance is no less remarkable. One of his officers gave a bill upon a merchant in France, for the price of provisions purchased by him. Thurot having accidentally seen the bill, informed the countryman that it was of no value, reprimanded the officer bitterly for the cheat, and compelled him to give a bill upon a merchant who he knew would pay the money. At that very time, Thurot's men were in bad humour, and were disposed to mutiny. In such circumstances, would not Thurot have been excused, for winking at a fraud to which he was not accessory? But he acted all along with the strictest honour, even at the hazard of a mutiny. Common honesty to an enemy is not a common practice in war. Thurot was strictly honest in circumstances that made the exertion of common honesty an act of the highest magnanimity. These incidents ought to be held up to princes as examples of true heroism. War carried on in that manner, would, from desolation and horror, be converted into a fair field for acquiring true military glory, and for exercising every manly virtue. I feel the greatest satisfaction in paying this tribute of praise to the memory of that great man. He will be kept in remembrance by every true-hearted Briton, tho' he died fighting against us. But he died in the field of honour, fighting for his country.

In the progress of society there is commonly a remarkable period, when social and dissocial passions seem to bear equal sway, prevailing alternately. In the history of Alexander's successors, there are frequent instances of cruelty, equalling that of American savages; and instances no less frequent of gratitude, of generosity, and even of clemency, that betoken manners highly polished. Ptolemy of Egypt, having gained a complete victory over Demetrius, son of Antigonus, restored to him his equipage, his friends, and his domestics, saying, that "they ought not to make war for plunder, but for glory." Demetrius having defeated one of Ptolemy's Generals, was less delighted with the victory, than with the opportunity of rivalling his antagonist in humanity. The same Demetrius having restored liberty to the Athenians, was treated by them as a demi-god; and yet afterward, in his adversity, their gates were shut against him. Upon a change of fortune he laid siege to Athens, resolving to chastise that rebellious and ungrateful people. He assembled the inhabitants in the theatre, surrounding them with his army, as preparing for a total massacre. But their terror was short; he pronounced their pardon, and bestow'd on them 100,000 measures of wheat. Ptolemy, the same who is mentioned above, having at the siege of Tyre summoned Andronicus the governor to surrender, received a provoking and contemptuous answer. The town being taken, Andronicus gave himself over for lost: but the King, thinking it below his dignity to resent an injury against an inferior, now his prisoner, not only overlooked the affront, but courted Andronicus to be his friend. Edward the Black Prince is an instance of refined manners, breaking, like a spark of fire, through the gloom of barbarity. The Emperor Charles V. after losing 30,000 men at the siege of Metz, made an ignominious retreat, leaving his camp filled with sick and wounded, dead and dying. Tho' the war between him and the King of France was carried on with unusual

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rancour, yet the Duke of Guise, governor of the town, exerted in those barbarous times a degree of humanity that would make a splendid figure even at present: He ordered plenty of food for those who were dying of hunger, appointed surgeons to attend the sick and wounded, removed to the adjacent villages those who could bear motion, and admitted the remainder into the hospitals that he had fitted up for his own soldiers; those who recovered their health were sent home, with money to defray the expence of the journey.

In the period that intervenes between barbarity and humanity, there are not wanting instances of opposite passions in the same person, governing alternately; as if a man could this moment be mild and gentle, and next moment harsh and brutal. To vouch the observation, I beg leave to introduce two rival monarchs, who for many years distressed their own people, and disturbed Europe, viz. the Emperor Charles, and the French King Francis. The Emperor, driven by contrary winds on the coast of France, was invited by Francis, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, to take shelter in his dominions, proposing an interview at Aigues-Mortes, a sea-port town. The Emperor instantly repaired there in his galley; and Francis, relying on the Emperor's honour, visited him on shipboard, and was received with every expression of affection. Next day, the Emperor repaid the confidence reposed in him: he landed at Aigues-Mortes with as little precaution, and found a reception equally cordial. After twenty years of open hostilities, or of secret enmity, after having formally given the lie, and challenged each other to single combat, after the Emperor had publicly inveighed against Francis as void of honour, and Francis had accused the Emperor as murderer of his own son; such behaviour will scarce be thought consistent with human nature. But these monarchs lived in a period verging from cruelty to humanity; and such periods abound with surprising changes of temper
and

and conduct. In the present times, such changes are unknown.

Conquest has not always the same effect upon the manners of the conquered. The Tartars who subdued China in the thirteenth century, adopted immediately the Chinese manners: the government, laws, customs, continued without variation. And the same happened upon their second conquest of China in the seventeenth century. The barbarous nations also who crush'd the Roman empire, adopted the laws, customs, and manners, of the conquered. Very different was the fate of the Greek empire when conquered by the Turks. That warlike nation introduced every where their own laws and manners: even at this day they continue a distinct people, as much as ever. The Tartars, as well as the barbarians who overthrew the Roman empire, were all of them rude and illiterate, destitute of laws, and ignorant of government. Such nations readily adopt the laws and manners of a civilized people, whom they admire. The Turks had laws, and a regular government; and the Greeks, when subdued by them, were reduced by luxury and sensuality to be objects of contempt, not of imitation.

Manners are deeply affected by persecution. The forms of procedure in the Inquisition, enable the inquisitors to ruin whom they please. A person accused is not confronted with the accuser: every sort of accusation is welcome, and from every person: a child, a common prostitute, one branded with infamy, are reputable witnesses: a son is compelled to give evidence against his father, and a woman against her husband. Nay the persons accused are compelled to inform against themselves, by guessing what sin they may have been guilty of. Such odious, cruel, and tyrannical proceedings, made all Spain tremble: every man distrusts his neighbour, and even his own family: a total end was put to friendship, and to social freedom. Hence the gravity and reserve of a people, who have naturally all the vivacity of a temperate

rate climate and bountiful soil *. Hence the profound ignorance of that people, while other European nations are daily improving in every art and in every science. Human nature is reduced to its lowest state, when governed by superstition clothed with power.

We proceed to another capital article in the history of manners, viz. the selfish and social branches of our nature, by which manners are greatly influenced. Selfishness prevails among savages; because corporeal pleasures are its chief objects, and of these every savage is perfectly sensible. Benevolence and kindly affection are too refined for a savage, unless of the simplest kind, such as the ties of blood. While artificial wants were unknown, selfishness made no figure: the means of gratifying the calls of nature were in plenty; and men who are not afraid of ever being in want, never think of providing against it; and far less do they think of coveting what belongs to another. But men are not long contented with simple necessities: an unwearied appetite to be more and more comfortably provided, leads them from necessities to conveniences, and from these to every luxury of life. Avarice turns headstrong; and locks and bars, formerly unknown, become necessary to protect individuals from the rapacity of their neighbours. When the goods of fortune, money in particular, come to be prized, selfishness soon displays itself. In Madagascar, a man who makes a present of an ox or a calf, expects the value in return: and scruples not to say, "You my friend, I your friend; you no my friend, I no your friend; I salamanca you, you salamanca me." Salamanca means, the making a present. Admiral Watson being introduced to the King of Baba, in Madagascar, was asked by his Majesty, what presents he had brought. Hence the custom, universal among barbarians, of always accost-

* The populace of Spain, too low game for the inquisition, are abundantly cheerful, perhaps more so than those of France.

ing a king, or any man of high rank, with presents. The peculiar excellence of man above all other animals, is the capacity he has of improving by education and example. In proportion as his faculties refine, he acquires a relish for society, and finds a pleasure in benevolence, generosity, and in every other kindly affection, far above what selfishness can afford. How agreeable is this scene! Alas, too agreeable to last for ever. Opulence and luxury inflame the hoarding appetite; and selfishness at last prevails as it did originally. The selfishness however of savages differs from that of pampered people. Luxury, confining a man's whole views to himself, admits not of friendship, and scarce of any other social passion. But where a savage takes a liking to a particular person, the whole force of his social affection being directed to a single object, becomes extremely fervid. Hence the unexampled friendship between Achilles and Patroclus in the Iliad; and hence many such friendships among savages.

But there is much more to be said of the influence of opulence on manners. Rude and illiterate nations are tenacious of their laws and manners; for they are governed by custom, which is more and more rivetted by length of time. A people, on the contrary, who are polished by having passed through various scenes, are full of invention, and constantly thinking of new modes. Manners in particular can never be stationary, in a nation which is refined by prosperity and the arts of peace. Good government will advance men to a high degree of civilization; but the very best government will not preserve them from corruption, after becoming rich by prosperity. Opulence begets luxury, and enervates the appetite for sensual pleasure. The appetite, when inflamed, is never confined within moderate bounds, but clings to every object of gratification, without regard to propriety or decency. When Septimius Severus was elected Emperor, he found on the roll of causes depending before the judges in Rome no fewer

fewer than three thousand accusations of adultery. From that moment he abandoned all thoughts of attempting a reformation. Love of pleasure is similar to love of money: the more they are indulged the more they are inflamed. Polygamy is an incentive to the vice against nature; one act of incontinence leading to others, without end. When the Sultan Achmet was deposed at Constantinople, the people breaking into the house of one of his favourites, found not a single woman. It is reported of the Algerines, that in many of their seraglios there are no women. For the same reason, polygamy is far from preventing adultery, a truth finely illustrated in Nathan's parable to David. What judgement then are we to form of the opulent cities London and Paris, where pleasure is the ruling passion, and where riches are coveted as instruments of sensuality? What is to be expected but a pestiferous corruption of manners? Selfishness, ingrossing the whole soul, eradicates patriotism, and leaves not a cranny for social virtue. If in that condition men abstain from robbery or from murder, it is not love of justice that restrains them, but dread of punishment. Babylon is arraigned by Greek writers for luxury, sensuality, and profligacy. But Babylon represents the capital of every opulent kingdom, ancient and modern: the manners of all are the same; for power and riches never fail to produce luxury, sensuality, and profligacy. Canghi Emperor of China, who died in the year 1722, deserves to be recorded in the annals of fame, for resisting the softness and effeminacy of an Asiatic court. Far from abandoning himself to sensual pleasure, he passed several months yearly in the mountains of Tartary, mostly on horseback, and declining no fatigue. Nor in that situation were affairs of state neglected: many hours he borrowed from sleep, to hear his ministers, and to issue orders. How few monarchs, bred up like Canghi in the downy indolence of a seraglio, have resolution to withstand the temptations of sensual pleasure!

In no other history is the influence of prosperity and opulence on manners so conspicuous as in that of old Rome. During the second Punic war, when the Romans were reduced by Hannibal to fight *pro aris et focis*, Hiero King of Syracuse sent to Rome a large quantity of corn, with a golden statue of victory weighing three hundred and twenty pounds, which the senate accepted. But tho' their finances were at the lowest ebb, they accepted but the lightest of forty golden vases presented to them by the city of Naples; and politely returned, with many thanks, some golden vases sent by the city of Paestum, in Lucania: A rare instance of magnanimity. But no degree of virtue is proof against the corruption of conquest and opulence. Upon the influx of Asiatic riches and luxury, the Romans abandoned themselves to every vice: they became in particular wonderfully avaricious, breaking through every restraint of justice and humanity *. Spain in particular, which abounded with gold and silver, was for many years a scene, not only of oppression and cruelty, but of the basest treachery, practised against the natives by successive Roman generals, in order to accumulate wealth. Lucullus, who afterward made a capital figure in the Mithridatic war, attacked Cauca, a Celtiberian city, without the slightest provocation. Some of the principal citizens repaired to his camp with olive-branches, desiring to be informed upon what conditions they could purchase his friendship. It was agreed, that they should give hostages,

* Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœperunt, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci, cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria, atque avaritia, cum superbia invasere. *Sallust. Bell. Cat. c. 12.* — [*In English thus*: "After it had become an honour to be rich, and glory, empire, and power, became the attendants of riches, virtue declined apace, poverty was reckoned disgraceful, and innocence was held secret malice. Thus to the introduction of riches our youth owe their luxury, their avarice, and pride."]

with a hundred talents of silver. They also consented to admit a garrison of 2000 men, in order, as Lucullus pretended, to protect them against their enemies. But how were they protected? The gates were opened by the garrison to the whole army; and the inhabitants were butchered, without distinction of sex or age. What other remedy had they, but to invoke the gods presiding over oaths and covenants, and to pour out execrations against the Romans for their perfidy? Lucullus, enriched with the spoils of the town, felt no remorse for leaving 20,000 persons dead upon the spot. Shortly after, having laid siege to Intercatia, he solicited a treaty of peace. The citizens, reproaching him with the slaughter of the Cauceans, asked, whether, in making peace, he was not to employ the same right hand, and the same faith, he had already pledged to their countrymen. Seroelius Galba, another Roman general, persuaded the Lusitanians to lay down their arms, promising them a fruitful territory instead of their own mountains; and having thus got them into his power, he ordered all of them to be murdered. Of the few that escaped Viriatus was one, who, in a long and bloody war against the Romans, amply avenged the massacre of his countrymen. Our author Appian reports, that Galba, surpassing even Lucullus in covetousness, distributed but a small share of the plunder among the soldiers, converting the bulk of it to his own use. He adds, that tho' Galba was one of the richest men in Rome, yet he never scrupled at lies nor perjury to procure money. But the corruption was general: Galba being accused of many misdemeanors, was acquitted by the senate through the force of bribes. A tribe of the Celtiberians, who had long served the Romans against the Lusitanians, had an offer made them by Titus Didius of a territory in their neighbourhood, lately conquered by him. He appointed them a day to receive possession; and having inclosed them in his camp under shew of friendship, he put them all to the sword; for which mighty deed he obtained

tained the honour of a triumph. The double-dealing and treachery of the Romans, in their last war against Carthage, is beyond example. The Carthaginians suspecting that a storm was gathering against them, sent deputies to Rome for securing peace at any rate. The senate, in appearance, were disposed to amicable measures, demanding only hostages; and yet, tho' three hundred hostages were delivered without loss of time, the Roman army landed at Utica. The Carthaginian deputies attended the consuls there, desiring to know what more was to be done on their part. They were required to deliver up their arms; which they cheerfully did, imagining that they were now certain of peace. Instead of which, they received peremptory orders to evacuate the city, with their wives and children; and to take up no habitation within eighty furlongs of the sea. In perusing Appian's history of that memorable event, compassion for the distressed Carthaginians is stifled by indignation at their treacherous oppressors. Durst the monsters after such treachery talk of *Punica fides*? The profligacy of the Roman people, during the triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, is painted in lively colours by the same author. "For a long time, disorder and confusion overspread the commonwealth: no office was obtained but by faction, bribery, or criminal service: no man was ashamed to buy votes, which were sold in open market. One man there was, who, to obtain a lucrative office, expended eight hundred talents (*a*): ill men enriched themselves with public money, or with bribes: no honest man would stand candidate for an office; and into a situation so miserable was the commonwealth reduced, that once for eight months it had not a single magistrate." Cicero, writing to Atticus that Clodius was acquitted by the influence of Crassus, expresses himself in the following words. "Biduo, per unum

(*a*) About L. 150,000 Sterling.

“ servum, et eum ex gladiatorio ludo, confecit totum negotium.
 “ Accersivit ad se, promisit, intercessit, dedit. Jam vero, O dii
 “ boni, rem perditam ! etiam noctes certarum mulierum, atque
 “ adolescentulorum nobilium, introductiones nonnullis judicibus
 “ pro mercedis cumulo fuerunt * (a).” Ptolomy King of Egypt
 was dethroned by his subjects for tyranny. Having repaired to
 Rome for protection, he found means to poison the greater part of
 a hundred Egyptians, his accusers, and to assassinate Dion, their
 chief. And yet these crimes, perpetrated in the heart of Rome,
 were suffered to pass with impunity. But he had secured the lead-
 ing men by bribery, and was protected by Pompey. The follow-
 ing instance is, if possible, still more gross. Ptolomy, King of
 Cyprus, had always been a faithful ally to the Romans. But his
 gold, jewels, and precious moveables, were a tempting bait to the
 avarice of Rome ; and all was confiscated by a decree of the
 people, without even a pretext. Money procured by profligacy is
 not commonly hoarded up ; and the Romans were no less volup-
 tuous than avaricious. Alexander ab Alexandro mentions the Fa-
 nian, Orchian, Didian, Oppian, Cornelian, Ancian, and Julian
 laws, for repressing luxury of dress and of eating, all of which
 proved ineffectual. He adds, that Tiberius had it long at heart
 to contrive some effectual law against luxury, which now had sur-
 passed all bounds ; but that he found it impracticable to stem the
 tide. He concludes, that by tacit agreement among a corrupted

* “ In two days he completed the affair, by the means of one slave, a gladiator.
 “ He sent for him, and by promises, wheedling, and large gifts, he gain’d his
 “ point. Good God, to what an infamous height has corruption at length ar-
 “ rived ! Some judges were rewarded with a night’s lodging of certain ladies ;
 “ and others, for an illustrious bribe, had some young boys of Noble family in-
 “ troduced to them.”

(a) Lib. i. epist 13.

people all sumptuary laws were in effect abrogated; and that the Roman people, abandoning themselves to vice, broke through every restraint of morality and religion (*a*). Tremble, O Britain, on the brink of a precipice! how little distant in rapacity from Roman senators are the leaders of thy people!

Riches produce another lamentable effect: they enervate the possessor, and degrade him into a coward. He who commands the labour of others, who eats without hunger, and rests without fatigue, becomes feeble in mind, as well as in body, has no confidence in his own abilities, and is reduced to flatter his enemies, because he hath not courage to brave them.

Selfishness among the rude and illiterate is rough, blunt, and undisguised. Selfishness, which in an opulent kingdom usurps the place of patriotism, is smooth, refined, and covered with a veil. Pecuniary interest, a low object, must be covered with the thickest veil: ambition, less dishonourable, is less covered: but delicacy as to character and love of fame, are so honourable, that even the thinnest veil is reckoned unnecessary. History justifies these observations. During the prosperity of Greece and Rome, when patriotism was the ruling passion, no man ever thought of employing a hostile weapon but against the enemies of his country: swords were not worn during peace, nor do we ever read of a private duel. The frequency of duels in modern times is no slight symptom of degeneracy: regardless of our country, selfishness is exerted without disguise, when reputation or character is in question; and a nice sense of honour prompts revenge for every imagined affront, without regard to justice. How much more manly and patriotic was the behaviour of Themistocles, when insulted by the Lacedemonian general in deliberating about the concerns of Greece! "Strike," says he, "but first hear me."

(*a*) Lib. 3. cap. 11.

When a nation, formerly in a flourishing state, is depressed by luxury and selfishness, what follows next? Let the Egyptians answer the question. That unhappy people, having for many ages been a prey to every barbarous invader, are now become effeminate, treacherous, cruel, and corrupted with every vice that debases humanity. A nation in its infancy, however savage, is susceptible of every improvement; but a nation worn out with age and disease is susceptible of no improvement. There is no remedy, but to let the natives die out, and to repeople the country with better men.

I fly from a scene so dismal to one that will give no pain. Light is intended by our Maker for action, and darkness for rest. In the fourteenth century, the shops in Paris were opened at four in the morning: at present, a shopkeeper is scarce awake at seven. The King of France dined at eight in the morning, and retired to his bedchamber at the same hour in the evening; an early hour at present for public amusements. The Spaniards adhere to ancient customs *. Their King to this day dines precisely at noon, and sups no less precisely at nine in the evening. During the reign of Henry VIII. fashionable people in England breakfasted at seven in the morning, and dined at ten in the forenoon. In Elizabeth's time, the nobility, gentry, and students, dined at eleven forenoon, and supped between five and six afternoon. In the reign of Charles II. four in the afternoon was the appointed hour for acting plays. At present, even dinner is at a later hour. The King of Yeman, the greatest prince in Arabia Felix, dines at nine in the morning, sups at five after noon, and goes to rest at eleven. From this short specimen it appears, that the occupations of daylight commence gradually later and later; as if there were a tendency in polite nations of converting night into day, and day into night. Nothing happens without a cause. Light disposes to

* Manners and fashions seldom change where women are locked up.

action, darkness to rest: The diversions of day are tournaments, tennis, hunting, racing, and such like active exercises: the diversions of night are sedentary; plays, cards, conversation. Balls are of a mixed nature, partly active in dancing, partly sedentary in conversing. Formerly, active exercises prevailed among a robust and plain people: the milder pleasures of society prevail as manners refine. Hence it is, that candle-light amusements are now fashionable in France, and in other polished countries; and when such amusements are much relished, they banish the robust exercises of the field. Balls, I conjecture, were formerly more frequent in day-light: at present, candle-light is their favourite time: the active part is at that time equally agreeable; and the sedentary part, much more so.

Gaming is the vice of idle people. Savages are addicted to gaming; and those of North America in particular, are fond to distraction of a game termed *the platter*. A losing gamester will strip himself to the skin; and some have been known to stake their liberty, tho' by them valued above all other blessings. Negroes in the slave-coast of Guinea will stake their wives, their children, and even themselves. Tacitus (a), talking of gaming among the Germans, says, "Extremo ac novissimo jactu, de libertate et de corpore contendunt *." The Greeks were an active and sprightly people, constantly engaged in war, or in cultivating the fine arts. They had no leisure for gaming, nor any knowledge of it. Happy for them was their ignorance; for no other vice tends more to render men selfish, dishonest, and, in the modish style, dishonourable. A gamester, a friend to no man, is a bitter enemy to himself. The luxurious of the present age, pass every hour in gaming that can be spared from sensual pleasure. Idle-

* "For their last throw they stake their liberty and life."

(a) De moribus Germanorum, c. 24.

ness is their excuse, as it is among savages; and they would in some degree be excusable, were they never actuated by a more disgraceful motive.

Writers do not carefully distinguish, particular customs from general manners. Formerly, women were not admitted upon the stage in France, Italy, or England. At that very time, none but women were admitted in Spain. From that fashion it would be rash to infer, that women have more liberty in Spain than in the other countries mentioned; for the contrary is true. In Hindostan, established custom prompts women to burn themselves alive with the bodies of their deceased husbands; but from that singular custom, it would be a false inference, that the Hindow women are either more bold, or more affectionate to their husbands, than in other countries. The Polanders, even after they became Christians in the thirteenth century, adhered to the customs of their forefathers, the Sarmatians; the killing, for example, infants born deformed, and men debilitated by age; which would betoken horrid barbarity, if it were not a singular custom. Roman Catholics imagine, that there is no religion in England nor in Holland, because, from a spirit of civil liberty, all sects are there tolerated. The encouragement given to assassination in Italy, where every church is a sanctuary, makes strangers rashly infer, that the Italians are all assassins. Writers sometimes fall into an opposite mistake, attributing to a particular nation, certain manners and customs common to all nations in one or other period of their progress. It is remarked by Heraclides Ponticus as peculiar to the Athamanes, that the men fed the flocks, and the women cultivated the ground. This has been the practice of all nations, in their progress from the shepherd-state to that of husbandry; and is at present the practice among American savages. The same author observes as peculiar to the Celtæ and Aphetæi, that they leave their doors open without hazard of theft.

But

But that practice is common among all savages in the first stage of society, before the use of money is known.

Hitherto there appears as great uniformity in the progress of manners, as can reasonably be expected among so many different nations. There is one exception, extraordinary indeed if true, which is, the manners of the Caledonians described by Ossian, manners so pure and refined as scarce to be equalled in the most cultivated nations. Such manners among a people in the first stage of society, acquainted with no arts but hunting and making war, would, I acknowledge, be miraculous: and yet to suppose all to be invented by an illiterate savage, seems little less miraculous. One, at first view, will, without hesitation, declare the whole a pure fiction; for how is it credible, that a people, rude at present and illiterate, were, in the infancy of their society, highly refined in sentiments and manners? And yet upon a more accurate inspection, many weighty considerations occur to balance that opinion.

From a thousand circumstances it appears, that the works of Ossian are not a late production. They are composed in an old dialect of the Celtic tongue; and as, till of late, they were known only in the highlands of Scotland, the author must have been a Caledonian. The translator (a) saw in the Isle of Sky the first four books of the poem Fingal, written in a fair hand on vellum, and bearing date in the year 1403. The natives believe that poem to be very ancient: every person has passages of it by heart, transmitted by memory from their forefathers. Their dogs bear commonly the name of *Luath*, *Bran*, &c. mentioned in these poems, as our dogs do of *Pompey* and *Cæsar* *. Many other particulars might

(a) Mr Macpherson.

* In the Isle of Sky, the ruins of the castle of Dunstaich upon an inaccessible
Vol. I. N n rock

might be mentioned; but these are sufficient to evince, that the work must have existed at least three or four centuries. And taking that for granted, I proceed to certain considerations tending to evince, that the manners described in Ossian were Caledonian manners, and not a pure fiction. And after perusing with attention these considerations, I am not afraid that even the most incredulous will continue altogether unshaken.

It is a noted and well-founded observation, That manners are never painted to the life by any one to whom they are not familiar. It is not difficult to draw the outlines of imaginary manners; but to fill up the picture with all the variety of tints that manners assume in different situations, uniting all in one entire whole, — *hic labor, hoc opus est*. Yet the manners here supposed to be invented, are delineated in a variety of incidents, of sentiments, of images, and of allusions, making one entire picture, without once deviating into the slightest incongruity. Every scene in Ossian relates to hunting, to fighting, and to love, the sole occupations of men in the original state of society: there is not a single image, simile, nor allusion, but what is borrowed from that state, without a jarring circumstance. Supposing all to be mere invention, is it not amazing to find no mention of highland clans, nor of any name now in use? Is it not still more amazing, that there is not the slightest hint of the Christian religion, not even in a metaphor or allusion? Is it not equally amazing, that in a work where deer's flesh is frequently mentioned, and a curious method of roasting it, there should not be a word of fish as food, which is so common in later times? Very few

rock hanging over the sea, are still visible. That castle, as vouched by tradition, belonged to Cuchullin Lord of that Isle, whose history is recorded in the Poem of Fingal. Upon the green before the castle there is a great stone, to which, according to the same tradition, his dog Luath was chained.

highlanders

highlanders know that their forefathers did not eat fish; and supposing it to be known, it would require attention more than human, never once to mention it. Can it be supposed, that a modern writer could be so constantly on his guard, as never to mention corn, nor cattle? In a story so scanty of poetical images, the sedentary life of a shepherd, and the industry of a husbandman, would make a capital figure: the cloven foot would somewhere appear. And yet in all the works of Ossian, there is no mention of agriculture; and but a slight hint of a herd of cattle in one or two allusions. I willingly give all advantages to the unbeliever: Supposing the author of Ossian to be a late writer, embellished with every refinement of modern education; yet even upon that supposition he is a miracle, far from being equalled by any other author ancient or modern.

But difficulties multiply, when it is taken into the account, that the poems of Ossian have existed three or four centuries at least. Our highlanders at present are rude and illiterate; and were in fact little better than savages at the period mentioned. Now to hold the manners described in that work to be imaginary, is in effect to hold, that they were invented by a highland savage, acquainted with the rude manners of his country, but utterly unacquainted with every other system of manners. From what source did he draw the refined manners so deliciously painted by him? Supposing him to have been a traveller, of which we have not the slightest hint, the manners at that period of France, of Italy, and of other neighbouring nations, were little less barbarous than those of his own country. I can discover no source other than direct inspiration. In a word, whoever seriously believes the manners of Ossian to be fictitious, may well say, with the religious enthusiast, *Credo quia impossibile est*: "I believe it because it is impossible."

But further: The uncommon talents of the author of this work

will cheerfully be acknowledged by every reader of taste: he certainly was a great master in his way. Now, whether the work be late, or composed four centuries ago, a man of such talents inventing a historical fable, and laying the scene of action among savages in the hunter-state, would naturally frame a system of manners the best suited in his opinion to that state. What then could tempt him to adopt a system of manners so opposite to any notion he could frame of savage manners? The absurdity is so gross, that we are forced, however reluctantly, to believe, that these manners are not fictitious, but in reality the manners of his country, coloured perhaps, or a little heightened, according to the privilege of an epic poet. And once admitting that fact, there can be no hesitation in ascribing the work to Ossian, son of Fin-gal, whose name it bears: we have no better evidence for the authors of several Greek and Roman books. Upon the same evidence we must believe, that Ossian lived in the reign of the Emperor Caracalla, of whom frequent mention is made under the designation of *Caracul the Great King*; at which period the shepherd-state was scarce known in Caledonia, and husbandry not at all. Had he lived so late as the twelfth century, when there were flocks and herds in that country, and some sort of agriculture, a poet of genius, such as Ossian undoubtedly was, would have drawn from these his finest images.

The foregoing considerations, I am persuaded, would not fail to convert the most incredulous, were it not for a consequence extremely improbable, that a people, little better at present than savages, were in their primitive hunter-state highly refined; for such Ossian describes them. And yet it is not less improbable that such manners should be invented by an illiterate highland bard. Let a man chuse either side, the difficulty cannot be solved but by a miracle. What shall we conclude upon the whole? for the mind cannot for ever remain in suspense. As dry reasoning
has

has left us in a dilemma, taste perhaps and feeling may extricate us. May not the case be here as in real painting? A portrait drawn from fancy may resemble the human visage; but such peculiarity of countenance and expression as serves to distinguish a certain person from every other, is always wanting. Present a portrait to a man of taste, and he will be at no loss to say, whether it be copied from the life, or be the product of fancy. If Ossian paint from fancy, the cloven foot will appear: but if his portraits be complete, so as to express every peculiarity of character, why should we doubt of their being copied from life? In that view, the reader, I am hopeful, will not think his time thrown away in examining some of Ossian's striking pictures. see not another resource.

Love of fame is painted by Ossian as the ruling passion of his countrymen the Caledonians. Warriors are every where described, as esteeming it their chief happiness to be recorded in the songs of the bards: that feature is never wanting in any of Ossian's heroes. Take the following instances. " King of the roaring
" Strumon, said the rising joy of Fingal, do I behold thee in
" arms after thy strength has failed? Often hath Morni shone
" in battles, like the beam of the rising sun, when he disperses
" the storms of the hill, and brings peace to the glittering fields.
" But why didst thou not rest in thine age? Thy renown is in
" the song: the people behold thee, and bless the departure of
" mighty Morni (a). Son of Fingal, he said, why burns the soul
" of Gaul? My heart beats high: my steps are disordered; and
" my hand trembles on my sword. When I look toward the foe,
" my soul lightens before me, and I see their sleeping host.
" Tremble thus the souls of the valiant in battles of the spear?
" How would the soul of Morni rise if we should rush on the foe!

(a) Lathmon.

" Our renown would grow in the song, and our steps be stately
 " in the eye of the brave * (a)."

That a warrior has acquired his fame is a consolation in every distress: " Carril, said the King in secret, the strength of Cuchullin fails. My days are with the years that are past; and
 " no morning of mine shall arise. They shall seek me at Temora,
 " but I shall not be found. Cormac will weep in his hall, and
 " say, Where is Tura's chief? But my name is renowned, my
 " fame in the song of bards. The youth will say in secret, *O let
 " me die as Cuchullin died: renown clothed him like a robe; and the
 " light of his fame is great.* Draw the arrow from my side; and
 " lay Cuchullin below that oak. Place the shield of Caithbat near,
 " that they may behold me amid the arms of my fathers (b)." Fingal speaks: " Ullin, my aged bard, take the ship of the King.
 " Carry Oscar to Selma, and let the daughters of Morven weep.
 " We shall fight in Erin for the race of fallen Cormac. The days
 " of my years begin to fail: I feel the weakness of my arm. My
 " fathers bend from their clouds to receive their gray-hair'd son.
 " But, Trenmor! before I go hence, one beam of my fame shall
 " rise: in fame shall my days end, as my years begun: my life
 " shall be one stream of light to other times (c)." Ossian speaks:

* Love of fame is a laudable passion, which every man values himself upon. Fame in war is acquired by courage and candour, which are esteemed by all: it is not acquired by fighting for spoil, because avarice is despised by all. The spoils of an enemy were display'd at a Roman triumph, not for their own sake, but as a mark of victory. When nations at war degenerate from love of fame to love of gain, stratagem, deceit, breach of faith, and every sort of immorality, are never-failing consequences.

(a) Lathmon.

(b) The death of Cuchullin.

(c) Temora.

" Did

"Did thy beauty last, O Ryno! stood the strength of car-borne
 "Oscar *! Fingal himself passed away, and the halls of his fa-
 "thers forgot his steps. And shalt thou remain, aged bard, when
 "the mighty have failed? But my fame shall remain; and grow
 "like the oak of Morven, which lifts its broad head to the storm,
 "and rejoiceth in the course of the wind (a)."

The chief cause of affliction when a young man is cut off in battle, is his not having received his fame: "And fell the swiftest
 "in the race, said the King, the first to bend the bow? Thou
 "scarce hast been known to me; why did young Ryno fall? But
 "sleep thou softly on Lena, Fingal shall soon behold thee. Soon
 "shall my voice be heard no more, and my footsteps cease to be
 "seen. The bards will tell of Fingal's name: the stones will talk
 "of me. But, Ryno! thou art low indeed, thou hast not re-
 "ceived thy fame. Ullin, strike the harp for Ryno; tell what
 "the chief would have been. Farewell thou first in every field.
 "No more shall I direct thy dart. Thou that hast been so fair;
 "I behold thee not. — Farewell (b)." "Calthon rushed into the
 "stream: I bounded forward on my spear: Teutha's race fell
 "before us: night came rolling down. Dunthalmo rested on a
 "rock, amidst an aged wood: the rage of his bosom burned a-
 "gainst the car-borne Calthon. But Calthon stood in his grief;
 "he mourned the fallen Colmar; Colmar slain in youth, before
 "his fame arose (c)."

* Several of Ossian's heroes are described as fighting in cars. The Britons in general fought in that manner. *Britanni dimicant non equitatu modo, aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus.* *Pomponius Mela, l. 3.* — [In English thus: "The Britons fight, not only with cavalry, or foot, but also with cars and chariots."]

(a) Berrathon.

(b) Fingal.

(c) Calthon and Colmar.

Lamentation

Lamentation for loss of fame. Cuchullin speaks : " But, O ye
 " ghosts of the lonely Cromla ! ye souls of chiefs that are no
 " more ! be ye the companions of Cuchullin, and talk to him in
 " the cave of his forrow. For never more shall I be renowned
 " among the mighty in the land. I am like a beam that has
 " shone ; like a mist that fled away when the blast of the morning
 " came, and brightened the shaggy side of the hill. Connal, talk
 " of arms no more : departed is my fame. My sighs shall be on
 " Cromla's wind, till my footsteps cease to be seen. And thou
 " white-bosom'd Bragéla, mourn over the fall of my fame ; for,
 " vanquished, never will I return to thee, thou sun-beam of
 " Dunscaich (a)."

Love of fame begets heroic actions, which go hand in hand with
 elevated sentiments : of the former there are examples in every
 page ; of the latter take the following examples. " And let
 " him come, replied the King. I love a foe like Cathmor : his
 " soul is great ; his arm strong ; and his battles full of fame.
 " But the little soul is like a vapour that hovers round the marshy
 " lake, which never rises on the green hill, lest the winds meet it
 " there (b)." Offian speaks : " But let us fly, son of Morni,
 " Lathmon descends the hill. Then let our steps be slow, replied
 " the fair-hair'd Gaul, lest the foe say with a smile, Behold the
 " warriors of night : they are like ghosts, terrible in darkness ;
 " but they melt away before the beam of the East (c)." " Son of
 " the feeble hand, said Lathmon, shall my host descend ! They
 " are but two, and shall a thousand lift their steel ! Nuah would
 " mourn in his hall for the departure of Lathmon's fame : his
 " eyes would turn from Lathmon, when the tread of his feet ap-

(a) Fingal.

(b) Lathmon.

(c) Lathmon.

"proached. Go thou to the heroes, son of Dútha, for I behold
 "the stately steps of Ossian. His fame is worthy of my steel :
 "let him fight with Lathmon (a)." "Fingal does not delight in
 "battle, tho' his arm is strong. My renown grows on the fall of
 "the haughty : the lightning of my steel pours on the proud in
 "arms. The battle comes ; and the tombs of the valiant rise ;
 "the tombs of my people rise, O my fathers ! and I at last must
 "remain alone. But I will remain renowned, and the departure
 "of my soul shall be one stream of light (b)." "I raised my voice
 "for Fovar-gormo, when they laid the chief in earth. The aged
 "Crothar was there, but his sigh was not heard. He searched
 "for the wound of his son, and found it in his breast : joy rose
 "in the face of the aged : he came and spoke to Ossian : King of
 "spears, my son hath not fallen without his fame : the young
 "warrior did not fly, but met death as he went forward in his
 "strength. Happy are they who die in youth, when their re-
 "nown is heard : their memory shall be honoured in the song ;
 "the young tear of the virgin falls (c)." "Cuchullin kindled at
 "the sight, and darkness gathered on his brow. His hand was
 "on the sword of his fathers : his red-rolling eye on the foe. He
 "thrice attempted to rush to battle, and thrice did Connal stop
 "him. Chief of the isle of mist, he said, Fingal subdues the
 "foe : seek not a part of the fame of the King (d)."

The pictures that Ossian draws of his countrymen are no less
 remarkable for tender sentiments, than for elevation. Parental af-
 fection is finely touched in the following passage. "Son of Com-

(a) Lathmon.

(b) Lathmon.

(c) Croma.

(d) Fingal.

" hal, replied the chief, the strength of Morni's arm has failed.
 " I attempt to draw the sword of my youth, but it remains in its
 " place: I throw the spear, but it falls short of the mark; and I
 " feel the weight of my shield. We decay like the grass of the
 " mountain, and our strength returns no more. I have a son, O
 " Fingal! his soul has delighted in the actions of Morni's youth;
 " but his sword has not been lifted against the foe, neither has
 " his fame begun. I come with him to battle, to direct his arm.
 " His renown will be a sun to my soul, in the dark hour of my
 " departure. O that the name of Morni were forgot among the
 " people, that the heroes would only say, Behold the father of
 " Gaul (a)!" And no less finely touched is grief for the loss of
 children: " We saw Oscar leaning on his shield: we saw his
 " blood around. Silence darkened on the face of every hero:
 " each turned his back and wept. The King strove to hide his
 " tears. He bends his head over his son; and his words are
 " mixed with sighs. And art thou fallen, Oscar, in the midst of
 " thy course! The heart of the aged beats over thee. I see thy
 " coming battles: I behold the battles that ought to come, but
 " they are cut off from thy fame. When shall joy dwell at Sel-
 " ma? when shall the song of grief cease on Morven? My sons
 " fall by degrees, Fingal will be the last of his race. The fame I
 " have received shall pass away: my age shall be without friends.
 " I shall sit like a grey cloud in my hall: nor shall I expect the re-
 " turn of a son with his founding arms. Weep, ye heroes of Mor-
 " ven; never more will Oscar rise (b)." Crothar speaks. " Son
 " of Fingal! dost thou not behold the darkness of Crothar's hall
 " of shells? My soul was not dark at the feast, when my people
 " lived. I rejoiced in the presence of strangers, when my son

(a) Lathmon.

(b) Temora.

" shone in the hall. But, Offian, he is a beam that is departed, and
 " left no streak of light behind. He is fallen, son of Fingal, in the
 " battles of his father. — Rothmar, the chief of grassy Tromlo,
 " heard that my eyes had failed; he heard, that my arms were
 " fixed in the hall, and the pride of his soul arose. He came to-
 " ward Croma; my people fell before him. I took my arms in
 " the hall; but what could fightless Crothar do? My steps were
 " unequal; my grief was great. I wished for the days that were
 " past, days wherein I fought and won in the field of blood. My
 " son returned from the chace, the fair-hair'd Fovar-gormo. He
 " had not lifted his sword in battle, for his arm was young. But
 " the soul of the youth was great; the fire of valour burnt in his
 " eyes. He saw the disordered steps of his father, and his sigh
 " arose. King of Croma, he said, is it because thou hast no son;
 " is it for the weakness of Fovar-gormo's arm that thy sighs a-
 " rise? I begin, my father, to feel the strength of my arm; I
 " have drawn the sword of my youth; and I have bent the bow.
 " Let me meet this Rothmar with the youths of Croma; let me
 " meet him, O my father; for I feel my burning soul. And
 " thou shalt meet him, I said, son of the fightless Crothar! But
 " let others advance before thee, that I may hear the tread of thy
 " feet at thy return; for my eyes behold thee not, fair-hair'd
 " Fovar-gormo! — He went, he met the foe; he fell. The foe
 " advances toward Croma. He who slew my son is near, with all
 " his pointed spears (a)."

The following sentiments about the shortness of human life are
 pathetic. " Desolate is the dwelling of Moina, silence in the house
 " of her fathers. Raise the song of mourning over the strangers.
 " One day we must fall; and they have only fallen before us. —
 " Why dost thou build the hall, son of the winged days! Thou

(a) Croma.

" lookest from thy towers to day : soon will the blast of the desert
 " come. It howls in thy empty court, and whistles over thy half-
 " worn shield (a)." " How long shall we weep on Lena, or pour
 " our tears in Ullin ! The mighty will not return ; nor Oscar rise
 " in his strength : the valiant must fall one day, and be no more
 " known. Where are our fathers, O warriors, the chiefs of the
 " times of old ! They are set, like stars that have shone : we only
 " hear the sound of their praise. But they were renowned in
 " their day, and the terror of other times. Thus shall we pass,
 " O warriors, in the day of our fall. Then let us be renowned
 " while we may ; and leave our fame behind us, like the last
 " beams of the sun, when he hides his red head in the west (b)."

In Homer's time, heroes were greedy of plunder ; and, like robbers, were much disposed to insult a vanquished foe. According to Ossian, the ancient Caledonians had no idea of plunder : and as they fought for fame only, their humanity overflow'd to the vanquished. American savages, it is true, are not addicted to plunder, and are ready to bestow on the first comer what trifles they force from the enemy. But they have no notion of a pitched battle ; nor of single combat : on the contrary, they value themselves upon slaughtering their enemies by surprise, without risking their own sweet persons. Agreeable to the magnanimous character given by Ossian of his countrymen, we find humanity blended with courage in all their actions. " Fingal pitied the
 " white-armed maid : he stayed the uplifted sword. The tear
 " was in the eye of the King, as bending forward he spoke :
 " King of streamy Sora, fear not the sword of Fingal : it was never stained with the blood of the vanquished ; it never pierced
 " a fallen foe. Let thy people rejoice along the blue waters of

(a) Carthou.

(b) Temora.

"Tora: let the maids of thy love be glad. Why should'st thou
 "fall in thy youth, King of streamy Sora (a)!" Fingal speaks:
 "Son of my strength, he said, take the spear of Fingal: go to
 "Teutha's mighty stream, and save the car-borne Colmar. Let
 "thy fame return before thee like a pleasant gale; that my soul
 "may rejoice over my son, who renews the renown of our fa-
 "thers. Ossian! be thou a storm in battle, but mild where the
 "foes are low. It was thus my fame arose, O my son; and be
 "thou like Selma's chief. When the haughty come to my hall,
 "my eyes behold them not; but my arm is stretched forth to
 "the unhappy, my sword defends the weak (b)." "O Oscar!
 "bend the strong in arm, but spare the feeble hand. Be thou a
 "stream of many tides against the foes of thy people, but like the
 "gale that moves the grass to those who ask thy aid. Never
 "search for the battle, nor shun it when it comes. So Trenmor
 "lived; such Trathal was; and such has Fingal been. My arm
 "was the support of the injured; and the weak rested behind the
 "lightning of my steel (c)."

Humanity to the vanquished is display'd in the following pas-
 sages. After defeating in battle Swaran King of Lochlin, Fingal
 says, "Raise, Ullin, raise the song of peace, and soothe my soul
 "after battle, that my ear may forget the noise of arms. And
 "let a hundred harps be near to gladden the King of Lochlin:
 "he must depart from us with joy: none ever went sad from
 "Fingal. Oscar, the lightning of my sword is against the strong;
 "but peaceful it hangs by my side when warriors yield in
 "battle (d)." "Uthal fell beneath my sword, and the sons of

(a) Carric-thura.

(b) Calthon and Colmar.

(c) Fingal, book 3.

(d) Fingal, book 6.

" Berrathon fled. It was then I saw him in his beauty, and the
 " tear hung in my eye. Thou art fallen, young tree, I said, with
 " all thy budding beauties round thee. The winds come from
 " the desert, and there is no sound in thy leaves. Lovely art
 " thou in death, son of ear-borne Lathmor (a)."

After the scenes above exhibited, it will not be thought that Ossian deviates from the manners represented by him, in describing the hospitality of his chieftains: " We heard the voice of joy on
 " the coast, and we thought that the mighty Cathmor came;
 " Cathmor, the friend of strangers, the brother of red-hair'd Cair-
 " bar. But their souls were not the same; for the light of
 " heaven was in the bosom of Cathmor. His towers rose on
 " the banks of Atha: seven paths led to his hall: seven chiefs
 " stood on these paths, and called the stranger to the feast. But
 " Cathmor dwelt in the wood, to avoid the voice of praise (b)."
 " Rathmor was a chief of Clutha. The feeble dwelt in his hall.
 " The gates of Rathmor were never closed: his feast was always
 " spread. The sons of the stranger came, and blessed the gene-
 " rous chief of Clutha. Bards raised the song, and touched the
 " harp: joy brightened on the face of the mournful. Dunthal-
 " mo came in his pride, and rushed into combat with Rathmor.
 " The chief of Clutha overcame. The rage of Dunthalmo rose:
 " he came by night with his warriors; and the mighty Rathmor
 " fell: he fell in his hall, where his feast had been often spread
 " for strangers (c)." It seems not to exceed the magnanimity of
 his chieftains, intent upon glory only, to feast even their enemies
 before a battle. Cuchullin, after the first day's engagement with
 Swaran, King of Lochlin or Scandinavia, says to Carril, one of

(a) Berrathon.

(b) Temora.

(c) Calthon and Colmal.

his bards, "Is this feast spread for me alone, and the King of Lochlin on Ullin's shore; far from the deer of his hills, and sounding halls of his feasts? Rise, Carril of other times, and carry my words to Swaran; tell him from the roaring of waters, that Cuchullin gives his feast. Here let him listen to the sound of my groves amid the clouds of night: for cold and bleak the blustering winds rush over the foam of his seas. Here let him praise the trembling harp, and hear the songs of heroes (a)." The Scandinavian King, less polished, refused the invitation. Cairbar speaks: "Spread the feast on Lena, and let my hundred bards attend. And thou, red-hair'd Olla, take the harp of the King. Go to Oscar, King of swords, and bid him to our feast. To-day we feast and hear the song; to-morrow break the spears (b)." "Olla came with his songs. Oscar went to Cairbar's feast. Three hundred heroes attend the chief, and the clang of their arms is terrible. The gray dogs bound on the heath, and their howling is frequent. Fingal saw the departure of the hero: the soul of the King was sad. He dreads the gloomy Cairbar: but who of the race of Trenmor fears the foe (c)?"

Cruelty is every where condemned as an infamous vice. Speaking of the bards, "Cairbar feared to stretch his sword to the bards, tho' his soul was dark; but he closed us in the midst of darkness. Three days we pined alone: on the fourth the noble Cathmor came. He heard our voice from the cave, and turned the eye of his wrath on Cairbar. Chief of Atha, he said, how long wilt thou pain my soul? Thy heart is like the rock of the desert, and thy thoughts are dark. But thou art the brother

(a) Fingal, book 1.

(b) Temora.

(c) Temora.

“ of Cathmor, and he will fight thy battles. Cathmor’s soul is
 “ not like thine, thou feeble hand of war. The light of my bo-
 “ som is stained with thy deeds. The bards will not sing of my
 “ renown: they may say, Cathmor was brave, but he fought for
 “ gloomy Cairbair: they will pass over my tomb in silence, and
 “ my fame shall not be heard. Cairbar, loose the bards; they are
 “ the sons of other times: their voice shall be heard in other ages
 “ when the Kings of Temora have failed (a).” “ Ullin rais’d his
 “ white sails: the wind of the south came forth. He bounded on
 “ the waves toward Selma’s walls. The feast is spread on Lena:
 “ an hundred heroes reared the tomb of Cairbar; but no song is
 “ raised over the chief, for his soul had been dark and bloody. We
 “ remembered the fall of Cormac; and what could we say in Cair-
 “ bar’s praise (b).”

Genuine manners never were represented more to the life by a Tacitus nor a Shakespear. Such painting is above the reach of pure invention, and must be the work of knowledge and feeling.

One may discover the manners of a nation from the figure their women make. Among savages, women are treated like slaves; and they acquire not the dignity that belongs to the sex, till manners be considerably refined. According to the manners above described, women ought to have made a considerable figure among the ancient Caledonians. Let us examine Ossian upon that subject, in order to judge whether he carries on the same tone of manners to every particular. That women were highly regarded, appears from the following passages. “ Daughter of the hand of
 “ snow! I was not so mournful and blind, I was not so dark and
 “ forlorn, when Everallin loved me, Everallin with the dark-
 “ brown hair, the white-bosomed love of Cormac. A thousand

(a) Temora.

(b) Temora.

“ heroes

" heroes fought the maid, she denied her love to a thousand; the
" sons of the sword were despised; for graceful in her eyes was
" Offian. I went in suit of the maid to Lego's fable ferge; twelve
" of my people were there, sons of the streamy Morven. We
" came to Branno friend of strangers, Branno of the sounding
" mail.—From whence, he said, are the arms of steel? Not ea-
" sy to win is the maid that has denied the blue-eyed sons of Erin.
" But blest be thou, O son of Fingal, happy is the maid that
" waits thee. Tho' twelve daughters of beauty were mine, thine
" were the choice, thou son of fame! Then he opened the hall
" of the maid, the dark-hair'd Everallin. Joy kindled in our
" breasts of steel, and blest the maid of Branno (a)." " Now
" Connal, on Cromla's windy side, spoke to the chief of the noble
" car. Why that gloom, son of Semo? Our friends are the
" mighty in battle. And renowned art thou, O warrior! many
" were the deaths of thy steel. Often has Bragela met thee with
" blue-rolling eyes of joy; often has she met her hero returning
" in the midst of the valiant, when his sword was red with slaugh-
" ter, and his foes silent in the field of the tomb. Pleasant to her
" ears were thy bards, when thine actions rose in the song (b)." " But, King of Morven, if I shall fall, as one time the warrior
" must fall, raise my tomb in the midst, and let it be the great-
" est on Lena. And send over the dark-blue wave the sword of
" Orla, to the spouse of his love; that she may show it to her son,
" with tears, to kindle his soul to war (c)." " I lifted my eyes
" to Cromla, and I saw the son of generous Semo.—Sad and slow
" he retired from his hill toward the lonely cave of Tura. He

(a) Fingal, book 4.

(b) Fingal, book 5.

(c) Fingal, book 5.

" saw Fingal victorious, and mixed his joy with grief. The sun
 " is bright on his armour, and Connal slowly followed. They
 " sunk behind the hill, like two pillars of the fire of night, when
 " winds pursue them over the mountain, and the flaming heath
 " resounds. Beside a stream of roaring foam, his cave is in a
 " rock. One tree bends above it; and the rushing winds echo a-
 " gainst its sides. There rests the chief of Dunscailch, the son of
 " generous Semo. His thoughts are on the battles he lost; and
 " the tear is on his cheek. He mourned the departure of his
 " fame, that fled like the mist of Cona. O Bragela, thou art too
 " far remote to cheer the soul of the hero. But let him see thy
 " bright form in his soul; that his thoughts may return to the
 " lonely sun-beam of Dunscailch (a)." " Ossian King of swords,
 " replied the bard, thou best raisest the song. Long hast thou
 " been known to Carril, thou ruler of battles. Often have I
 " touched the harp to lovely Everallin. Thou, too, hast often
 " accompanied my voice in Branno's hall of shells. And often
 " amidst our voices was heard the mildest Everallin. One day
 " the song of Cormac's fall, the youth that died for her love. I
 " saw the tears on her cheek, and on thine, thou chief of men.
 " Her soul was touched for the unhappy, tho' she loved him not.
 " How fair among a thousand maids, was the daughter of the
 " generous Branno (b)." " It was in the days of peace, replied
 " the great Clessammor, I came in my bounding ship to Balclu-
 " tha's walls of towers. The winds had roared behind my sails,
 " and Clutha's streams received my dark-bosomed vessel. Three
 " days I remained in Reuthamir's halls, and saw that beam of
 " light, his daughter. The joy of the shell went round, and the
 " aged hero gave the fair. Her breasts were like foam on the

(a) Fingal, book 5.

(b) Fingal, book 5.

“ wave, and her eyes like stars of light: her hair was dark as the
 “ raven’s wing: her soul was generous and mild. My love for
 “ Moina was great: and my heart poured forth in joy (a).” “ The
 “ fame of Ossian shall rise: his deeds shall be like his father’s.
 “ Let us rush in our arms, son of Morni, let us rush to battle.
 “ Gaul, if thou shalt return, go to Selma’s lofty hall. Tell Ever-
 “ allin that I fell with fame: carry the sword to Branno’s daugh-
 “ ter: let her give it to Oscar when the years of his youth shall
 “ arise (b).”

Next to war, love makes the principal figure: and well it may; for in Ossian’s poems it breathes every thing sweet, tender, and elevated. “ On Lubar’s grassy banks they fought; and Grudar
 “ fell. Fierce Cairbar came to the vale of the echoing Tura,
 “ where Brassolis, fairest of his sisters, all alone raised the song
 “ of grief. She sung the actions of Grudar, the youth of her se-
 “ cret soul: she mourned him in the field of blood; but still she
 “ hoped his return. Her white bosom is seen from her robe, as
 “ the moon from the clouds of night: her voice was softer than
 “ the harp, to raise the song of grief: her soul was fixed on Grudar,
 “ the secret look of her eye was his; — when wilt thou come in
 “ thine arms, thou mighty in the war? Take, Brassolis, Cair-
 “ bar said, take this shield of blood: fix it on high within my
 “ hall, the armour of my foe. Her soft heart beat against
 “ her side: distracted, pale, she flew, and found her youth in his
 “ blood. — She died on Cromla’s heath. Here rests their dust,
 “ Cuchullin; and these two lonely yews, sprung from their
 “ tombs, wish to meet on high. Fair was Brassolis on the plain,
 “ and Grudar on the hill. The bard shall preserve their names,

(a) Carthon.

(b) Lathmon.

" and repeat them to future times (a)." " Pleasant is thy voice,
 " O Carril, said the blue-eyed chief of Erin; and lovely are the
 " words of other times: they are like the calm shower of spring,
 " when the sun looks on the field, and the light cloud flies over
 " the hill. O strike the harp in praise of my love, the lonely sun-
 " beam of Dunscaich: strike the harp in praise of Bragela, whom
 " I left in the isle of mist, the spouse of Semo's son. — Dost thou
 " raise thy fair face from the rock to find the sails of Cuchullin?
 " the sea is rolling far distant, and its white foam will deceive
 " thee for my sails. Retire, my love, for it is night, and the
 " dark winds sigh in thy hair: retire to the hall of my feasts, and
 " think of times that are past; for I will not return till the storm
 " of war cease. — O Connal, speak of war and arms, and send
 " her from my mind; for lovely with her raven-hair is the white-
 " bosomed daughter of Sorglan (b)." Malvina speaks. " But
 " thou dwellest in the soul of Malvina, son of mighty Oslan.
 " My sighs arise with the beam of the east, my tears descend with
 " the drops of night. I was a lovely tree in thy presence, Oscar,
 " with all my branches round me; but thy death came like a
 " blast from the desert, and laid my green head low: the spring
 " returned with its showers, but of me not a leaf sprung. The
 " virgins saw me silent in the hall, and they touched the harp of
 " joy. The tear was on the cheek of Malvina, and the virgins
 " beheld my grief. Why art thou sad, they said, thou first of
 " the maids of Lutha? Was he lovely as the beam of the morn-
 " ing, and stately in thy sight (c)?" " Fingal came in his mild-
 " ness, rejoicing in secret over the actions of his son. Morni's
 " face brightened with gladness, and his aged eyes looked faint-

(a) Fingal, book. 1.

(b) Fingal, book. 1.

(c) Croma.

“ly through tears of joy. We came to the halls of Selma, and
 “sat round the feast of shells. The maids of the song came into
 “our presence, and the mildly-blushing Everallin. Her dark
 “hair spreads on her neck of snow, her eye rolls in secret on Of-
 “sian. She touches the harp of music, and we bless the daugh-
 “ter of Branno (a).”

Had the Caledonians made slaves of their women, and thought as meanly of them as savages commonly do, it could never have entered the imagination of Ossian, to ascribe to them those numberless graces that exalt the female sex, and render many of them objects of pure and elevated affection. Without the aid of inspiration, such refined manners could never have been conceived by a savage. I say more: Supposing a savage to have been divinely inspired, manners so inconsistent with their own, would not have been relished, nor even comprehended, by his countrymen. And yet that they were highly relished is certain, having been universally diffused among all ranks, and preserved for many ages by memory alone, without writing. Here the argument mentioned above strikes with double force, to evince, that the manners of the Caledonians must have been really such as Ossian describes.

Catharina Alexowna, Empress of Russia, promoted assemblies of men and women, as a means to polish the manners of her subjects. And in order to preserve decency in such assemblies, she published a body of regulations, of which the following are a specimen. “Ladies who play at forfeitures, questions and commands, &c. shall not be noisy nor riotous. No gentleman must attempt to force a kiss, nor strike a woman in the assembly, under pain of exclusion. Ladies are not to get drunk upon any pretext whatever; nor gentlemen before nine.” Compare the

(a) Lathmon.

manners that required such regulations with those described above. Can we suppose, that the ladies and gentlemen of Ossian's poems ever amused themselves, after the age of twelve, with hide and seek, questions and commands, or such childish play? Can it enter into our thoughts, that Bragela or Malvina were so often drunk, as to require the reprimand of a public regulation? or that any hero of Ossian ever struck a woman of fashion in ire?

The immortality of the soul was a capital article in the Celtic creed, inculcated by the Druids (a). And in Valerius Maximus we find the following passage. "Gallos, memoriae proditum est; pecunias mutuas, quæ sibi apud inferos redderentur, dare: quia persuasum habuerint, animas hominum immortales esse. Dicerem stultos, nisi idem braccati sensissent quod palliatus Pythagoras sensit * (b)." All savages have an impression of immortality; but few, even of the most enlightened before Christianity prevailed, had the least notion of any occupations in another life, but what they were accustomed to in this. Even Virgil, with all his poetical invention, finds no amusements for his departed heroes, but what they were fond of when alive; the same love for war, the same taste for hunting, and the same affection to their friends. As we have no reason to expect more invention in Ossian, the observation may serve as a key to the ghosts introduced by him, and to his whole machinery, as termed by critics. His description of these ghosts is copied plainly from the creed of his country.

* "It is reported, that the Gauls frequently lent money to be paid back in the infernal regions, from a firm persuasion that the souls of men were immortal. I would have called them fools, if those wearers of breeches had not thought the same as Pythagoras who wore a cloak."

(a) Pomponius Mela. Ammianus Marcellinus.

(b) Lib. 2.

In a historical account of the progress of manners, it would argue gross insensibility to overlook those above mentioned. The subject, it is true, has swelled upon my hands beyond expectation; but it is not a little interesting. If these manners be genuine, they are a singular phenomenon in the History of Man: if they be the invention of an illiterate bard, among savages utterly ignorant of such manners, the phenomenon is no less singular. Let either side be taken, and a sort of miracle must be admitted. In the instances above given, such a beautiful mixture there is of simplicity and dignity, and so much life given to the manners described, that real manners were never represented with a more striking appearance of truth. If these manners be fictitious, I say again, that the author must have been inspired: they plainly exceed the invention of a savage; nay, they exceed the invention of any known writer. Every man will judge for himself: it is perhaps fondness for such refined manners, that makes me incline to reality against fiction.

I am aware at the same time, that manners so pure and elevated, in the first stage of society, are difficult to be accounted for. The Caledonians were not an original tribe, to found a supposition that they might have manners peculiar to themselves: they were a branch of the Celtæ, and had a language common to them with the inhabitants of Gaul, and of England. The manners probably of all were the same, or nearly so; and if we expect any light for explaining Caledonian manners, it must be from that quarter: we have indeed no other resource. Diodorus Siculus (a) reports of the Celtæ, that, tho' warlike, they were upright in their dealings, and far removed from deceit and duplicity. Cæsar (b), "*Galli homines aperti minimeque insidiosi, qui*

(a) Lib. 5.

(b) De bello Africo.

"per virtutem, non per dolum, dimicare consueverunt *." And tho' cruel to their enemies, yet Pomponius Mela (a) observes, that they were kind and compassionate to the suppliant and unfortunate. Strabo (b) describes the Gauls, as studious of war, and of great alacrity in fighting; otherwise an innocent people, altogether void of malignity. He says, that they had three orders of men, bards, priests, and druids; that the province of the bards was to study poetry, and to compose songs in praise of their deceased heroes; that the priests presided over divine worship; and that the druids, beside studying moral and natural philosophy, determined all controversies, and had some direction even in war. Cæsar, less attentive to civil matters, comprehends these three orders under the name of *druids*; and observes, that the druids teach their disciples a vast number of verses, which they must get by heart. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Gauls had poets termed *bards*, who sung airs accompanied with the harp, in praise of some, and dispraise of others. Lucan, speaking of the three orders, says,

"Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,

"Laudibus in longum, vates, dimittitis ævum,

"Plurima securi fuditis carmina bardi †"

* "The Gauls are of an open temper, not at all insidious; and in fight they rely on valour, not on stratagem."

† "You too, ye bards! whom sacred raptures fire,

"To chant your heroes to your country's lyre;

"Who consecrate in your immortal strain,

"Brave patriot souls, in righteous battle slain.

"Securely now the tuneful task renew,

"And noblest themes in deathless songs pursue."

Rowe. (b)

(a) Lib. 3.

(b) Lib. 4.

With

With respect to the Celtic women in particular, it is agreed by all writers, that they were extremely beautiful (*a*). They were no less remarkable for spirit than for beauty. If we can rely on Diodorus Siculus, the women in Gaul equalled the men in courage. Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, says, that the British women frequently joined with the men, when attacked by an enemy. And so much were they regarded, as to be thought capable of the highest command. "Neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt *," says the same author (*b*). And accordingly, during the war carried on by Caractacus, a gallant British King, against the Romans, Cartimandua was Queen of the Brigantes. Boadicea is recorded in Roman annals as a queen of a warlike spirit. She led on a great army against the Romans; and in exhorting her people to behave with courage, she observed, that it was not unusual to see a British army led on to battle by a woman; to which Tacitus adds his testimony: "Solitum quidem Britannis fœminarum ductu bellare † (*c*)."
No wonder that Celtic women, so amply provided with spirit, as well as beauty, made a capital figure in every public entertainment (*d*).

The Gallic Celtæ undoubtedly carried with them their manners and customs to Britain, and spread them gradually from south to north. And as the Caledonians, inhabiting a mountainous country in the northern parts of the island, had little commerce with other nations, they preserved long in purity many Celtic customs,

* "They made no distinction of sex in conferring authority."

† "The Britons even follow'd women as leaders in the field."

(*a*) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 5. Athenæus, lib. 13.

(*b*) Vita Agricolæ, cap. 16.

(*c*) Annalium lib. 14.

(*d*) Athenæus, lib. 10.

particularly that of retaining bards. All the chieftains had bards in their pay, whose province it was to compose songs in praise of their ancestors, and to accompany those songs with the harp. This entertainment enflamed their love for war, and at the same time softened their manners, which, as Strabo reports, were naturally innocent and void of malignity. It had beside a wonderful influence in forming virtuous manners: the bards, in praising deceased heroes, would naturally select virtuous actions, which make the best figure in heroic poetry, and tend the most to illustrate the hero of their song: vice may be flattered; but praise is never willingly nor successfully bestow'd upon any atchievement but what is virtuous and heroic. It is accordingly observed by Ammianus Marcellinus (a), that the bards inculcated in their songs virtue and actions worthy of praise. The bards, who were in high estimation, became great proficient in poetry; of which we have a conspicuous instance in the works of Ossian. Their capital compositions were diligently studied by those of their own order, and much admired by all. The songs of the bards, accompanied with the harp, made a deep impression on the young warrior, elevated some into heroes, and promoted virtue in every hearer*. Another circumstance concurred to form Caledonian manners, common to them with every nation in the first stage of society; which is, that avarice was unknown among them. People in that stage, ignorant of habitual wants, and having a ready supply of all that nature requires, have little notion of property, and not the flight-

* Polydore Virgil says, *Hiberni sunt musica peritissimi*. — [In English thus: "The Irish are most skilful in music." — Ireland was peopled from Britain; and the music of that country must have been derived from British bards. The Welsh bards were the great champions of independence; and in particular promoted an obstinate resistance to Edward I. when he carried his arms into Wales. And hence the tradition, that the Welsh bards were all slaughtered by that King.

(a) Lib. 15.

est notion of accumulating the goods of fortune; and for that reason are always found honest and disinterested. With respect to the female sex, who make an illustrious figure in Ossian's poems, if they were so eminent both for courage and beauty as they are represented by the best authors, it is no wonder that they are painted by Ossian as objects of love the most pure and refined. Nor ought it to be overlooked, that the soft and delicate notes of the harp have a tendency to purify manners, and to refine love.

Whether the causes here assigned of Celtic manners be fully adequate, may well admit of a doubt; but if authentic history be relied on, we can entertain no doubt, that the manners of the Gallic and British Celts, including the Caledonians, were such as are above described. And as the manners ascribed by Ossian to his countrymen the Caledonians, are in every particular conformable to those now mentioned, it clearly follows, that Ossian was no inventor, but drew his pictures of manners from real life. This is made highly probable from intrinsic evidence, the same that is so copiously urged above: and now by authentic history that probability is so much heightened as scarce to leave room for a doubt.

Our present highlanders are but a small part of the inhabitants of Britain; and they have been sinking in their importance, from the time that arts and sciences made a figure, and peaceable manners prevailed. And yet in that people are discernible many remaining features of their forefathers the Caledonians. They have to this day a disposition to war, and when disciplined make excellent soldiers, sober, active, and obedient. They are eminently hospitable; and the character given by Strabo of the Gallic Celts, that they were innocent, and devoid of malignity, is to them perfectly applicable. That they have not the magnanimity and heroism of the Caledonians, is easily accounted for. The Caledonians were a free and independent people, unaw'd by any superior power, and living under the mild government of their own

chieftains: compared with their forefathers, the present highlanders make a very inconsiderable figure: their country is barren, and at any rate is but a small part of a potent kingdom; and their language deprives them of intercourse with their polished neighbours.

There certainly never happened in literature, a discovery more extraordinary than the works of Ossian. To lay the scene of action among hunters in the first stage of society, and to bestow upon such a people a system of manners that would do honour to the most polished state, seemed at first an ill-contrived forgery. But if a forgery, why so bold and improbable? why not invent manners more congruous to the savage state? And as at any rate the work has great merit, why did the author conceal himself? These considerations roused my attention, and produced the foregoing disquisition; which I finished, without imagining that any more light could be obtained. But after a long interval, a thought struck me, that as the Caledonians formerly were much connected with the Scandinavians, the manners of the latter might probably give light in the present enquiry. I cheerfully spread my sails in a wide ocean, not without hopes of importing precious merchandise. Many volumes did I turn over of Scandinavian history; especially where the manners of the inhabitants in the first stage of society are delineated; and now I proceed to present my reader with the fruits of my labour.

The Danes, says Adam of Bremen, are remarkable for elevation of mind: the punishment of death is less dreaded by them than that of whipping. "The philosophy of the Cimbri," says Valerius Maximus, "is gay and resolute: they leap for joy in a battle, hoping for a glorious end: in sickness they lament, for fear of the contrary." What fortified their courage was a persuasion, that those who die in battle fighting bravely, are instantly translated to the hall of Odin, to drink beer out of the skull of

an enemy. "Happy in their mistake," says Lucan, "are the people who live near the pole: persuaded that death is only a passage to long life, they are undisturbed by the most grievous of all fears, that of dying: they eagerly run to arms, and esteem it cowardice to spare a life they shall soon recover in another world." Such was their magnanimity, that they scorned to snatch a victory by surprise. Even in their piratical expeditions, instances are recorded of setting aside all the ships that exceeded those of the enemy, lest the victory should be attributed to superiority of numbers. It was held unmanly to decline a combat, however unequal; for courage, it was thought, rendered all men equal. The shedding tears was unmanly, even for the death of friends.

The Scandinavians were sensible in a high degree to praise and reproach; for love of fame was their darling passion. Olave, King of Norway, placing three of his scalds or bards around him in a battle, "You shall not relate," said he, "what you have only heard, but what you are eye-witnesses of." Upon every occasion we find them insisting upon glory, honour, and contempt of death, as leading principles. The bare suspicion of cowardice, was attended with universal contempt: a man who lost his buckler, or received a wound behind, durst never again appear in public. Frotho King of Denmark, taken captive in a battle, obstinately refused either liberty or life. "To what end," says he, "should I survive the disgrace of being made a captive? Should you even restore to me my sister, my treasure, and my kingdom, would these benefits restore me to my honour? Future ages will always have it to say, that Frotho was taken by his enemy (a)."

Much efficacy is above ascribed to the songs of Caledonian

(a) Saxo Grammaticus. *translation, that those who die in battle fighting bravely are instantly translated to the hall of Odin, to drink beer out of the skulls of their enemies.*

bards;

bards; and with satisfaction I find my observations justified in every Scandinavian history. The Kings of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, are represented in ancient chronicles as constantly attended with scalds or bards; who were treated with great respect, especially by princes distinguished in war. Harold Harfager at his feasts placed them above all his other officers; and employed them in negotiations of the greatest importance. The poetic art, held in great estimation, was cultivated by men of the first rank. Rogvald, Earl of Orkney, passed for an able poet. King Regnar was distinguished in poetry, no less than in war. It was the proper province of bards in Scandinavia, as in other countries, to celebrate in odes the achievements of deceased heroes. They were frequently employ'd in animating the troops before a battle. Hacon, Earl of Norway, in his famous engagement against the warriors of Iomsburg, had five celebrated poets, each of whom sung an ode to the soldiers ready to engage. Saxo Grammaticus, describing a battle between Waldemar and Sueno, mentions a scald belonging to the former, who, advancing to the front of the army, reproached the latter in a pathetic ode as the murderer of his own father.

The odes of the Scandinavian bards have a peculiar energy; which is not difficult to be accounted for. The propensity of the Scandinavians to war, their love of glory, their undaunted courage, and their warlike exploits, naturally produced elevated sentiments, and an elevated tone of language; both of which were display'd in celebrating heroic deeds. Take the following instances. The first is from the Edda, which contains the birth and genealogy of their gods. "The giant Rymer arrives from the east, "carried in a chariot; the great serpent, rolling himself furious-
"ly in the waters, lifteth up the sea. The eagle screams, and
"with his horrid beak tears the dead. The vessel of the gods is
"set afloat. The black prince of fire issues from the south, sur-

"rounded

"rounded with flames: the swords of the gods beam like the sun:
 "shaken are the rocks, and fall to pieces. The female giants
 "wander about weeping: men in crowds tread the paths of death.
 "Heaven is split asunder, the sun darkened, and the earth sunk
 "in the ocean. The shining stars vanish: the fire rages: the
 "world draws to an end; and the flame ascending licks the vault
 "of heaven. From the bosom of the waves an earth emerges,
 "clothed with lovely green: the floods retire: the fields produce
 "without culture: misfortunes are banished from the world.
 "Balder and his brother, gods of war, return to inhabit the
 "ruin'd palace of Odin. A palace more resplendent than the sun,
 "rises now to view; adorned with a roof of gold: there good
 "men shall inhabit; and live in joy and pleasure through all
 "ages." In a collection of ancient historical monuments of the
 north, published by Biorner, a learned Swede, there is the fol-
 lowing passage. "Grunder, perceiving Grymer rushing furious-
 "ly through opposing battalions, cries aloud, *Thou alone remainest*
 "to engage with me in single combat. *It is now thy turn to feel the*
 "keenness of my sword. Their sabres, like dark and threatening
 "clouds, hang dreadful in the air. Grymer's weapon darts down
 "like a thunderbolt: their swords furiously strike: they are
 "bathed in gore. Grymer cleaves the casque of his enemy, hews
 "his armour in pieces, and pours the light into his bosom.
 "Grunder sinks to the ground; and Grymer gives a dreadful
 "shout of triumph." This picture is done with a masterly hand.
 The capital circumstances are judiciously selected; and the nar-
 ration is compact and rapid. Indulge me with a moment's pause
 to compare this picture with one or two in Ossian's manner. "As
 "autumn's dark storms pour from two echoing hills; so to each
 "other approach the heroes. As from high rocks two dark
 "streams meet, and mix and roar on the plain; so meet Lochlin
 "and Innis-fail, loud, rough, and dark in battle. Chief mixes
 "his

" his strokes with chief, and man with man; steel sounds on
 " steel, helmets are cleft on high. Blood bursts, and smoaks a-
 " round. Strings murmur on the polished yew. Darts rush a-
 " long the sky. Spears fall like sparks of flame that gild the
 " stormy face of night. As the noise of the troubled ocean when
 " roll the waves on high, as the last peal of thundering heaven,
 " such is the noise of battle. Tho' Cormac's hundred bards were
 " there, feeble were the voice of an hundred bards to send the
 " deaths to future times; for many were the heroes who fell, and
 " wide poured the blood of the valiant." Again, "As roll a
 " thousand waves to the rocks, so came on Swaran's host: as
 " meets a rock a thousand waves, so Innis-fail met Swaran. The
 " voice of death is heard all around, and mixes with the sound
 " of shields. Each hero is a pillar of darkness, and the sword a
 " beam of fire in his hand. From wing to wing echoes the field,
 " like a hundred hammers that rise by turns on the red sun of the
 " furnace. Who are those on Lena's heath, so gloomy and dark?
 " they are like two clouds, and their swords lighten above. Who
 " is it but Ossian's son, and the car-borne chief of Erin?" These
 two descriptions make a deeper impression, and swell the heart
 more than the former: they are more poetical by short similes
 finely interwoven; and the images are far more lofty. And yet
 Ossian's chief talent is sentiment, in which Scandinavian bards are
 far inferior: in the generosity, tenderness, and humanity of his
 sentiments, he has not a rival.

The ancient Scandinavians were undoubtedly a barbarous people
 compared with the southern nations of Europe; but that they
 were far from being gross savages, may be gathered from a poem
 still extant, named *Havamaal*; or, *The sublime discourse of Odin*. Tho'
 that poem is of great antiquity, it is replete with good lessons and
 judicious reflections; of which the following are a specimen.

Happy he who gains the applause and good will of men.

Love

Love your friends, and love also their friends.

Be not the first to break with your friend: sorrow gnaws the heart of him who has not a single friend to advise with.

Where is the virtuous man that hath not a failing? Where is the wicked man that hath not some good quality?

Riches take wing: relations die: you yourself shall die. One thing only is out of the reach of fate, which is, the judgement that passes on the dead.

There is no malady more severe than the being discontented with one's lot.

Let not a man be overwise nor overcurious: if he would sleep in quiet, let him not seek to know his destiny.

While we live, let us live well: a man lights his fire, but before it be burnt out death may enter.

A coward dreams that he may live for ever: if he should escape every other weapon, he cannot escape that of old age.

The flocks know when to retire from pasture: the glutton knows not when to retire from the feast.

The lewd and dissolute make a mock of every thing, not considering how much they deserve to be mocked.

The best provision for a journey is strength of understanding: more useful than treasure, it welcomes one to the table of the stranger.

Hitherto the manners of the Scandinavians resemble in many capital circumstances those delineated in the works of Ossian, and I lay not however great stress upon that resemblance, because such manners are found among several other warlike nations in the first stage of society. The circumstance that has occasioned the greatest doubt about Ossian's system of manners, is the figure his women make. Among other savage nations, they are held to be beings of an inferior rank; and as such are treated with very little respect: in Ossian they make an illustrious figure, and are highly

regarded by the men. I have not words to express my satisfaction, when I discovered, that anciently among the barbarous Scandinavians, the female sex made a figure no less illustrious. A resemblance so complete with respect to a matter extremely singular among barbarians, cannot fail to convert the most obstinate infidel, leaving no doubt of Ossian's veracity. — But I ought not to anticipate. One cannot pass a verdict till the evidence be summed up; and to that task I now proceed, with sanguine hopes of success.

It is a fact ascertained by many writers, That women in the north of Europe were eminent for resolution and courage. Cæsar, in the first book of his Commentaries, describing a battle he fought with the Helvetii, says, that the women with a warlike spirit exhorted their husbands to persist, and placed the waggons in a line to prevent their flight. Florus and Tacitus mention, that several battles of those barbarous nations were renewed by their women, presenting their naked bosoms, and declaring their abhorrence of captivity. Flavius Vopiscus, writing of Proculus Cæsar, says, that a hundred Sarmatian virgins were taken in battle. The Longobard women, when many of their husbands were cut off in a battle, took up arms, and obtained the victory (*a*). The females of the Galactophagi, a Scythian tribe, were as warlike as the males, and went often with them to war (*b*). In former times, many women in Denmark applied themselves to arms (*c*). Jordanes describes the women of the Goths as full of courage, and trained to arms like the men. Joannes Magnus, Archbishop of Upsal, says the same; and mentions in particular an expedition of the Goths to invade a neighbouring country, in which more wo-

(*a*) Pāulus Diaconus.

(*b*) Nicolaus Damascenus.

(*c*) Saxo Grammaticus.

men went along with the men than were left at home (a). Several Scandinavian women exercised piracy (b). The Cimbri were always attended with their wives even in their distant expeditions, and were more afraid of their reproaches than of the blows of the enemy. The Goths, compelled by famine to surrender to Belisarius the city of Ravenna, were bitterly reproached by their wives for cowardice (c). In a battle between Regner King of Denmark and Fro King of Sweden, many women took part with the former, Langertha in particular, who fought with her hair flowing about her shoulders. Regner, being victorious, demanded who that woman was who had behaved so gallantly; and finding her to be a virgin of noble birth, he took her to wife. He afterward divorced her, in order to make way for a daughter of the King of Sweden. Regner being unhappily engaged in a civil war with Harald, who aspired to the throne of Denmark, Langertha, overlooking her wrongs, brought from Norway a body of men to assist her husband; and behaved so gallantly, that, in the opinion of all, Regner was indebted to her for the victory.

To find women in no inconsiderable portion of the globe dropping their timid nature, and rivalling men in their capital property of courage, is a singular phenomenon. That this phenomenon must have had an adequate cause, is certain; but of that cause, it is better to acknowledge our utter ignorance, however mortifying, than to squeeze out conjectures that will not bear examination.

In rude nations, prophets and soothsayers are held to be a superior class of men: what a figure then must the Vandal women

(a) Book 1.

(b) Olaus Magnus.

(c) Procopius, *Historia Gothica*, lib. 2.

have made, when in that nation, as Procopius says, all the prophets and soothsayers were of the female sex? In Scandinavia, women are said to have been skilful in magic arts, as well as men. Tacitus informs us, that the Germans had no other physicians but their women. They followed the armies, to staunch the blood, and suck the wounds of their husbands *. He mentions a fact that sets the German women in a conspicuous light, That female hostages bound the Germans more strictly to their engagements than male hostages. He adds, “ Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant : nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negliguntur †.” The histories and romances of the north represent women, and even princesses, acting as physicians in war.

Polygamy sprung up in countries where women are treated as inferior beings : it can never take place where the two sexes are held to be of equal rank. For that reason, polygamy never was known among the northern nations of Europe. Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote the history of Denmark in the twelfth century, gives not the slightest hint of polygamy, even among kings and princes. Crantz, in his history of the Saxons (a), affirms, that polygamy was never known among the northern nations of Eu-

* The expression of Tacitus is beautiful : “ Ad matres, ad conjuges, vulnera ferunt : nec illæ numerare aut exfugere plagas pavent : cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.” — [*In English thus* : “ When wounded, they find physicians in their mothers and wives, who are not afraid to count and suck their wounds. They carry provisions for their sons and husbands, and animate them in battle by their exhortations.”]

† “ They believe that there is something sacred in their character, and that they have a foresight of futurity : for this reason their counsels are always respected ; nor are their opinions ever disregarded.”

(a) Lib. 1. cap. 2.

rope; which is confirmed by every other writer who gives the history of any of those nations. Scheffer in particular, who writes the history of Lapland, observes, that neither polygamy nor divorce were ever heard of in that country, not even during Paganism.

We have the authority of Procopius (a), that the women in those countries were remarkable for beauty, and that those of the Goths and Vandals were the finest that ever had been seen in Italy; and we have the authority of Crantz, that chastity was in high estimation among the Danes, Swedes, and other Scandinavians. When these facts are added to those above mentioned, it will not be thought strange, that love between the sexes, even among that rude people, was a pure and elevated passion. That it was in fact such, is certain, if history can be credited, or the sentiments of a people expressed in their poetical compositions. I begin with the latter, as evidence the most to be rely'd on. The ancient poems of Scandinavia contain the warmest expressions of love and regard for the female sex. In an ode of King Regner Lodbrog, a very ancient poem, we find the following sentiments. "We fought with swords upon a promontory of England, when I saw ten thousand of my foes rolling in the dust. A dew of blood distilled from our swords: the arrows, that flew in search of the helmets, hissed through the air. The pleasure of that day was like the clasping a fair virgin in my arms." Again, "A young man should march early to the conflict of arms; in which consists the glory of the warrior. He who aspires to the love of a mistress, ought to be dauntless in the clash of swords." These Hyperboreans, it would appear, had early learned to combine the ideas of love and of military prowess; which is still more conspicuous in an ode of Harald the Valiant, of a later date. That

(a) Historia Gothica, lib. 3.

prince, who made a figure in the middle of the eleventh century, traversed all the seas of the north, and made piratical incursions even upon the coasts of the Mediterranean. In this ode he complains, that the glory he had acquired made no impression on Ellfir, daughter to Jarillas, King of Russia. "I have made the
 " tour of Sicily. My brown vessel, full of mariners, made a swift
 " progress. My course I thought would never slacken — and
 " yet a Russian maiden scorns me. The troops of Drontheim,
 " which I attacked in my youth, exceeded ours in number. Ter-
 " rible was the conflict: I left their young king dead on the field
 " — and yet a Russian maiden scorns me. Eight exercises I can
 " perform: I fight valiantly: firm is my seat on horseback: in-
 " ured I am to swimming: swift is my motion on scates: I dart
 " the lance: I am skilful at the oar — and yet a Russian maiden
 " scorns me. Can she deny, this young and lovely maiden, that
 " near a city in the south I joined battle, and left behind me last-
 " ing monuments of my exploits? — and yet a Russian maiden
 " scorns me. My birth was in the high country of Norway, fa-
 " mous for archers: but ships were my delight; and, far from
 " the habitations of men, I have traversed the seas from north to
 " south — and yet a Russian maiden scorns me." In the very an-
 " cient poem of Havamaal, mentioned above, there are many ex-
 " pressions of love to the fair sex. "He who would gain the love
 " of a maiden, must address her with smooth speeches, and showy
 " gifts. It requires good sense to be a skilful lover." Again,
 " If I aspire to the love of the chaste virgin, I can bend her
 " mind, and make her yield to my desires." The ancient Scan-
 " dinavian chronicles present often to our view young warriors en-
 " deavouring to acquire the favour of their mistresses, by boasting of
 " their accomplishments, such as their dexterity in swimming and
 " scating, their talent in poetry, their skill in chess, and their
 " knowing all the stars by name. Mallet, in the introduction to his
 " history

history of Denmark, mentions many ancient Scandinavian novels that turn upon love and heroism. These may be justly held as authentic evidence of the manners of the people: it is common to invent facts; but it is not common to attempt the inventing manners.

It is an additional proof of the great regard paid to women in Scandinavia, that in Edda, the Scandinavian Bible, female deities make as great a figure as male deities.

Agreeable to the manners described, we find it universally admitted among the ancient Scandinavians, that beauty ought to be the reward of courage and military skill. A warrior was thought intitled to demand in marriage any young woman, even of the highest rank, if he overcame his rivals in single combat: nor was it thought any hardship on the young lady to be yielded to the victor. The ladies were not always of that opinion; for the stoutest fighter is not always the handsomest fellow, nor the most engaging. And in the histories of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, many instances are related, of men generously interposing to rescue young beauties from brutes, destitute of every accomplishment but strength and boldness. Such stories have a fabulous air; and many of them probably are mere fables. Some of them however have a strong appearance of truth: men are introduced who make a figure in the real history of the country; and many circumstances are related that make links in the chain of that history. Take the following specimen. The ambassadors of Frotho, King of Denmark, commissioned to demand in marriage the daughter of a King of the Hunns, were feasted for three days, as the custom was in ancient times; and being admitted to the young Princess, she rejected the offer; "Because," says she, "your King has acquired no reputation in war, but passes his time effeminately at home." In Biorner's collection of ancient historical monuments, mentioned above, there is the following history.

Charles

Charles King of Sweden kept on foot an army of chosen men. His Queen had born him a daughter named *Inguegerda*, whose lively and graceful accomplishments were admired still more than her birth and fortune. The breast of the King overflow'd with felicity. Grymer, a youth of noble birth, knew to dye his sword in the blood of his enemies, to run over craggy mountains, to wrestle, to play at chess, and to trace the motions of the stars. He studied to show his skill in the apartment of the damsels, before the lovely *Inguegerda*. At length he ventured to open his mind. "Wilt thou, O fair Princess! accept of me for a husband, if I obtain the King's consent?" "Go," says she, "and supplicate my father." The courtly youth, respectfully addressing the King, said, "O King! give me in marriage thy beautiful daughter." He answered sternly, "Thou hast learned to handle thy arms: thou hast acquired some honourable distinctions: but hast thou ever gained a victory, or given a banquet to savage beasts that rejoice in blood?" "Where shall I go, O King! that I may dye my sword in crimson, and render myself worthy of being thy son-in-law?" "Hialmar, son of Harec," said the King, "who governs Biarmaland, has become terrible by a keen sword: the firmest shields he hews in pieces, and loads his followers with booty. Go, and prove thy valour, by attacking that hero: cause him to bite the dust, and *Inguegerda* shall be thy reward." Grymer, returning to his fair mistress, saluted her with ardent looks of love. "What answer hast thou received from the King?" "To obtain thee I must deprive the fierce Hialmar of life." *Inguegerda* exclaimed with grief, "Alas! my father hath devoted thee to death." Grymer selected a troop of brave warriors, eager to follow him. They launch their vessels into the wide ocean: they unfurl the sails, which catch the springing gale: the shrouds rattle: the waves foam, and dash against the prows: they steer their numerous vessels to the shore of

of Gothland; bent to glut the hungry raven, and to gorge the wolf with prey. Thus landed Grymer on Gothland; and thus did a beauteous maiden occasion the death of many heroes. Hialmar demanded who the strangers were. Grymer told his name; adding, that he had spent the summer in quest of him. "May your arrival, reply'd Hialmar, be fortunate; and may health and honour attend you. You shall partake of my gold, with the unmixed juice of the grape. Thy offers, said Grymer, I dare not accept. Prepare for battle; and let us hasten to give a banquet to beasts of prey. Hialmar laid hold of his white cuirass, his sword, and his buckler. Grymer, with a violent blow of his sabre, transfixes Hialmar's shield, and cuts off his left hand. Hialmar enraged, brandishes his sword, and striking off Grymer's helmet and cuirass, pierces his breast and sides: an effusion of blood following the wounds. Grymer raising his sabre with both hands, lays Hialmar prostrate on the ground; and he himself sinks down upon the dead body of his adversary. He was put on shipboard, and seemed to be at the last period of life when he landed. The distressed Princess undertook his cure; and restored him to health. They were married with great solemnity; and the beauteous bride of Grymer filled the heart of her hero with unfading joy."

According to the rude manners of those times, a lover did not always wait for the consent of his mistress. Joannes Magnus, Archbishop of Upsal, observes, in his history of the Goths, that ravishing of women was of old no less frequent among the Scandinavians than among the Greeks. He relates, that Gram, son to the King of Denmark, carried off the King of Sweden's daughter, whose beauty was celebrated in verses existing even in his time. Another instance he gives, of Nicolaus King of Denmark (a),

(a) Book 18.

who courted Uluilda, a noble and beautiful Norvegian lady, and obtained her consent. Nothing remained but the celebration of the nuptials, when she was carried off by Suercher, King of Sweden. We have the authority of Saxo Grammaticus, that Skiold, one of the first Kings of Denmark, fought a duel for a beautiful young woman, and obtained her for a wife. That author relates many duels of the same kind. It was indeed common among the Scandinavians, before they became Christians, to fight for a wife, and to carry off the desired object by force of arms. No cause of war between neighbouring kings was more frequent. Fridlevus King of Denmark sent a solemn embassy to Hasmundus King of Norway, to demand in marriage his daughter. Hasmundus had a rooted aversion to the Danes, who had done much mischief in his country. "Go," says he to the ambassadors, "and demand a wife where you are less hated than in Norway." The young lady, who had no aversion to the match, intreated leave to speak. "You seem," said she, "not to consult the good of your kingdom in rejecting so potent a son-in-law, who can carry by force what he is now applying for by intreaties." The father however continuing obstinate, dismissed the ambassadors. Fridlevus sent other ambassadors, redoubling his intreaties for a favourable answer. Hasmundus said, that one refusal might be thought sufficient; and in a fit of passion put the ambassadors to death. Fridlevus invaded Norway with a potent army; and, after a desperate battle, carried off the lady in triumph.

The figure that women made in the north of Europe by their courage, their beauty, and their chastity, could not fail to produce mutual esteem and love between the sexes: nor could that love fail to be purified into the most tender affection, when their rough manners were smoothed in the progress of society. If love between the sexes prevail in Lapland as much as any where, which is vouched by Scheffer in his history of that country, it must

must be for a reason very different from that now mentioned. The males in Lapland, who are great cowards, have no reason to despise the females for their timidity; and in every country where the women equal the men, mutual esteem and affection naturally take place. Two Lapland odes communicated to us by the author mentioned, leave no doubt of this fact, being full of the tenderest sentiments that love can inspire. The following is a literal translation.

F I R S T O D E.

I.

Kulnafatz my rain-deer,
We have a long journey to go;
The moors are vast,
And we must haste;
Our strength, I fear,
Will fail if we are slow;
And so
Our songs will do.

II.

Kaigé, the watery moor,
Is pleasant unto me,
Though long it be;
Since it doth to my mistress lead,
Whom I adore:
The Kilwa moor
I ne'er again will tread.

III.

Thoughts fill'd my mind
Whilst I thro' Kaigé past
Swift as the wind,

S f 2

And

And my desire,
Wing'd with impatient fire,
My rain-deer, let us haste.

IV.

So shall we quickly end our pleasing pain:
Behold my mistress there,
With decent motion walking o'er the plain.
Kulnafatz my rain-deer,
Look yonder, where
She washes in the lake:
See while she swims,
The waters from her purer limbs
New clearness take.

S E C O N D O D E.

I.

With brightest beams let the sun shine
On Orra moor:
Could I be sure
That from the top o' th' lofty pine
I Orra moor might see,
I to its highest bow would climb,
And with industrious labour try
Thence to descry
My mistress, if that there she be.

II.

Could I but know, amid what flowers,
Or in what shade she stays,
The gaudy bowers,
With all their verdant pride,
Their blossoms and their sprays,

Which

Which make my mistress disappear,
And her in envious darkness hide,
I from the roots and bed of earth would tear.

III.

Upon the raft of clouds I'd ride,
Which unto Orra fly :
O' th' ravens I would borrow wings,
And all the feather'd inmates of the sky :
But wings, alas, are me deny'd,
The stork and swan their pinions will not lend,
There's none who unto Orra brings,
Or will by that kind conduct me befriend.

IV.

Enough, enough ! thou hast delay'd
So many summer's days,
The best of days that crown the year,
Which light upon the eye-lids dart,
And melting joy upon the heart :
But since that thou so long hast stay'd,
They in unwelcome darkness disappear.
Yet vainly dost thou me forsake ;
I will pursue and overtake.

V.

What stronger is than bolts of steel ?
What can more surely bind ?
Love is stronger far than it ;
Upon the head in triumph she doth sit ;
Fetters the mind,
And doth control
The thought and soul.

VI.

VI.

A youth's desire is the desire of wind ;
All his essays
Are long delays :
No issue can they find.
Away fond counsellors, away,
No more advice obtrude :
I'll rather prove
The guidance of blind love ;
To follow you is certainly to stray :
One single counsel, tho' unwise, is good.

In the Scandinavian manners here described is discovered a striking resemblance to those described by Ossian. And as such were the manners of the Scandinavians in the first stage of society, it no longer remains a wonder, that the manners of Caledonia should be equally pure in the same early period. And now every argument above urged in favour of Ossian as a genuine historian has its full weight, without the least counterpoise. It is true, that Caledonian manners appear from Ossian to have been still more polished and refined than those of Scandinavia; but that difference may have proceeded from many causes, which time has buried in oblivion.

I make no apology for insisting so largely on Scandinavian manners; for they tend remarkably to support the credit of Ossian, and consequently to ascertain a fact extremely interesting, that our forefathers were by no means such barbarians as they are commonly held to be. All the inhabitants of Britain were of Celtic extraction; and we have reason to believe, that the manners of Caledonia were the manners of every part of the island, before the inhabitants of the plains were enslaved by the Romans. The only circumstance peculiar to the Caledonians, is their mountainous situation:

tuation: being less exposed to the oppression of foreigners, and farther removed from commerce, they did longer than their southern neighbours preserve their manners pure and untainted.

I have all along considered the poems of Ossian merely in a historical view. In the view of criticism they have been examined by a writer of distinguished taste (a); and however bold to enter a field where he hath reaped laurels, I imagine that there still remain some trifles for me to glean. Two of these poems, *Fingal* and *Temora*, are regular epic poems; and perhaps the single instances of epic poetry moulded into the form of an opera. We have in these two poems both the *Recitativo* and *Aria* of an Italian opera; drop'd indeed in the translation, from difficulty of imitation. Ossian's poems were all of them composed with a view to music; tho' in the long poems mentioned it is probable, that the airs only were accompanied with the harp, the recitative being left to the voice. The poems of Ossian are singular in another respect, being probably the only work now remaining that was composed in the hunter-state. Some songs of that early period may possibly be remaining, but nothing like a regular work. One may advance a step farther, and pronounce, with a high degree of probability, that *Fingal* and *Temora* are the only epic poems that ever were composed in that state. How great must have been the talents of the author, beset with every obstruction to genius, the manners of his country alone excepted; a cold inhospitable climate, with such deformity on the face of the country as scarce to afford a pleasing object; and he himself absolutely illiterate! One, advancing still farther, may venture boldly to affirm, that such a poem as *Fingal* or *Temora* never was composed in any other part of the world under such disadvantageous circumstances.

(a) Doctor Blair, professor of Rhetoric in the college of Edinburgh.

Tho' permanent manners enter not regularly into the present sketch, I am however tempted to add a few words concerning the influence of soil upon the disposition of man, in order to show the wisdom of Providence, which fits the ground we tread on, not only for supplying our wants, but for improving our manners. The stupidity of the inhabitants of New Holland, mentioned above, is occasioned by the barrenness of their soil, yielding nothing that can be food for man or beast. Day and night they watch the ebb of the tide, in order to dig small fish out of the sand; and sleep in the intervals, without an hour to spare for any other occupation. People in that condition must for ever remain ignorant and brutish. Were all the earth barren like New Holland, all men would be ignorant and brutish, like the inhabitants of New Holland. On the other hand, were every portion of this earth naturally so fertile as spontaneously to feed all its inhabitants, which is the golden age figured by poets, what would follow? Upon the former supposition, man would be a meagre, patient, and timid animal: upon the latter supposition, he would be pampered, lazy, and effeminate. In both cases, he would be stupidly ignorant, and incapable of any manly exertion, whether of mind or body. But the soil of our earth is more wisely accommodated to man, its chief inhabitant. Taking it in general, it is neither so fertile as to supersede labour, nor so barren as to require our whole labour. The laborious occupation of hunting for food, produced originally some degree of industry: and tho' all the industry of man was at first necessary for procuring food, cloathing, and habitation; yet the soil, by skill in agriculture, came to produce plenty with less labour, which to some afforded spare time for thinking of conveniencies. A habit of industry thus acquired, excited many to bestow their leisure-hours upon the arts, proceeding from useful arts to fine arts, and from these to the sciences. Wealth, accumulated by industry, has a wonderful influence

influence upon manners: feuds and war, the offspring of wealth, call forth into action friendship, courage, heroism, and every social virtue, as well as many selfish vices. How like brutes do we pass our time, without once reflecting on the conduct of Providence operating even under our feet!

Diversity of manners, at the same time, enters into the plan of Providence, as well as diversity of talents, of feelings, and of opinions. Our Maker hath given us a taste for variety; and he hath provided objects in plenty for its gratification. Some soils, naturally fertile, require little labour: some soils, naturally barren, require the extremity of labour. But the advantages of such a soil are more than sufficient to counterbalance its barrenness: the inhabitants are sober, industrious, vigorous; and consequently courageous, so far as courage depends on bodily strength*. The disadvantages of a fertile soil, on the contrary, are more than sufficient to counterbalance its advantages: the inhabitants are rendered indolent, weak, and cowardly. Hindostan may seem to be an exception; for tho' it be extremely fertile, the people however are industrious, and export manufactures in great abundance at a very low price. But Hindostan properly is not an exception. The Hindows, who are prohibited by their religion to kill any living creature, must abandon to animals for food a large proportion of land; which obliges them to cultivate what remains with double industry, in order to procure food for themselves. The populousness of their country contributes also to make them in-

* That a barren country is a great spur to industry, appears from Venice and Genoa in Italy, Nuremberg in Germany, and Limoges in France. The sterility of Holland required all the industry of its inhabitants for procuring the necessaries of life; and by that means chiefly they become remarkably industrious. Camden ascribes the success of the town of Halifax in the cloth-manufacture, to its barren soil.

dustrious. Arragon was once the most limited monarchy in Europe, England not excepted: the barrenness of the soil was the cause, which rendered the people hardy and courageous. In a preamble to one of their laws, the states declare, that were they not more free than other nations, the barrenness of their country would tempt them to abandon it. Opposed to Arragon stands Egypt, the fertility of which renders the inhabitants soft and effeminate, and consequently an easy prey to every invader *. The fruitfulness of the province of Quito in Peru, and the low price of every necessary, occasioned by its distance from the sea, have plunged the inhabitants into supine indolence, and excessive luxury. The people of the town of Quito in particular have abandoned themselves to every sort of debauchery. The time they have to spare from wine and women, is employed in excessive gaming. In other respects also the manners of a people are influenced by the country they inhabit. A great part of Calabria, formerly populous and fertile, is at present covered with trees and shrubs, like the wilds of America; and the ferocity of its inhabitants correspond to the rudeness of the fields. The same is visible in the inhabitants of Mount Etna in Sicily: the country and its inhabitants are equally rugged.

* Fear impressed by strange and unforeseen accidents, is the most potent cause of superstition. What then made the ancient Egyptians so superstitious? No other country is less liable to strange and unforeseen accidents: no thunder, scarce any rain, perfect regularity in the seasons, and in the rise and fall of the river. So little notion had the Egyptians of variable weather as to be surprised that the rivers of Greece did not overflow like the Nile. They could not comprehend how their fields were watered: rain, they said, was very irregular; and what if Jupiter should take a conceit to send them no rain? The fertility of the soil, and the inaction of the inhabitants during the inundation of the river, enervated both mind and body, and rendered them timid and pusillanimous. Superstition was the offspring of this character, as it is of strange and unforeseen accidents in other countries.

S K E T C H

S K E T C H VIII.

Progress and Effects of LUXURY.

THE wisdom of Providence is in no instance more conspicuous than in adjusting the constitution of man to his external circumstances. Food is extremely precarious in the hunter-state; sometimes superabounding with little fatigue, sometimes failing after great fatigue. A savage, like other animals of prey, has a stomach adjusted to that variety: he can bear a long fast; and gorges voraciously when he has plenty, without being the worse for it. Whence it is, that barbarians, who have scarce any sense of decency, are great and gross feeders *. They are equally addicted to drunkenness; and peculiarly fond of spirituous liquors. Drinking was a fashionable vice in Greece, when Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, wrote, if we can rely on the translations or imitations of those writers by Plautus and Terence. Diodorus Siculus reports, that in his time the Gauls, like other barbarians, were much addicted to drinking. The ancient Scandinavians, who, like other savages, were intemperate in eating and drinking, swallowed

* In the Iliad of Homer, book 9. Agamemnon calls a council at night in his tent. Before entering on business, they go to supper, (*line 122.*). An embassy to Achilles is resolved on. The ambassadors again sup with Achilles on pork-griskins, (*line 271.*). Achilles rejects Agamemnon's offer; and the same night Ulysses and Diomed set out on their expedition to the Trojan camp: returning before day, they had a third supper.

large cups to their gods, and to such of their countrymen as had fallen bravely in battle. We learn from the 25th fable of the Edda, which was their sacred book, that to hold much liquor was reputed a heroic virtue. Contarini the Venetian ambassador, who wrote ann. 1473, says, that the Russians were abandoned to drunkenness; and that the whole race would have been extirpated, had not strong liquors been discharged by the sovereign. The Kamskatkans love fat; and a man entertains his guests by cramming into their mouths fat slices of a seal, or a whale, cutting off with his knife what hangs out.

A habit of fasting long, acquired as above in the hunter-state, made meals in the shepherd-state less frequent than at present, tho' food was at hand. Anciently people fed but once a-day, a fashion that continued even after luxury was indulged in other respects. In the war of Xerxes against Greece, it was pleasantly said of the Abderites, who were burdened with providing for the King's table, that they ought to thank the gods for not inclining Xerxes to eat twice a-day. Plato held the Sicilians to be gluttons for having two meals a-day. Arrian (*a*) observes, that the Tyrrhenians had a bad habit of two meals a-day. In the reign of Henry VI. the people of England fed but twice a-day. Hector Boyes, in his history of Scotland, exclaiming against the growing luxury of his cotemporaries, says, that some persons were so gluttonous as to have three meals a-day.

Luxury undoubtedly, and love of society, tended to increase the number of meals beyond what nature requires. On the other hand, there is a cause that abridged the number for some time, which is, the introduction of machines. Bodily strength is essential to a savage, being his only tool; and with it he performs wonders. Machines have rendered bodily strength of little

(*a*) Lib. 4. cap. 16.

importance; and as men labour less than originally, they eat less in proportion *. Listen to Hollinshed the English historian upon that article: "Heretofore there hath been much more time spent in eating and drinking than commonly is in these days; for whereas of old we had breakfasts in the forenoon, beverages or nuntions after dinner, and thereto rear suppers when it was time to go to rest; now these odd repasts, thanked be God, are very well left, and each one contenteth himself with dinner and supper only." Thus before cookery and luxury crept in, a moderate stomach, occasioned by the abridging bodily labour, made eating less frequent than formerly. But the motion did not long continue retrograde: good cookery, and the pleasure of eating in company, turned the tide; and people now eat less at a time, but more frequently.

Feasts in former times were carried beyond all bounds. William of Malmesbury, who wrote in the days of Henry II. says, "That the English were universally addicted to drunkenness, continuing over their cups day and night, keeping open house, and spending the income of their estates in riotous feasts, where eating and drinking were carried to excess, without any elegance." People who live in a corner, imagine that every thing is peculiar to themselves: what Malmesbury says of the English, is common to all nations, in advancing from the selfishness of savages to a relish for society, but who have not yet learned to bridle their appetites. Leland (a) mentions a feast given by the Archbishop of York, at his installation, in the reign of Edward IV. The following is a specimen: 300 quarters of wheat, 300 tons of ale, 100 tons of wine, 1000 sheep, 104 oxen, 304 calves, 304 swine,

* Before fire-arms were known, people gloried in address and bodily strength, and commonly fought hand to hand. But violent exercises becoming less and less necessary, went insensibly out of fashion.

(a) Collectanea.

2000 geese, 1000 capons, 2000 pigs, 400 swans, 104 peacocks, 1500 hot venison pasties, 4000 cold, 5000 custards hot and cold. Such entertainments are a picture of manners. At that early period, there was not discovered in society any pleasure but that of crouding together in hunting and feasting. The delicate pleasures of conversation, in communicating opinions, sentiments, and desires, were to them utterly unknown. There appeared however, even at that early period, a faint dawn of the fine arts. In such feasts as are mentioned above, a curious desert was sometimes exhibited, termed *jutticie*, viz. paste moulded into the shape of animals. On a saint's day, angels, prophets, and patriarchs, were set upon the table in plenty. A feast given by Trivultius to Lewis XII. of France, in the city of Milan, makes a figure in Italian history. No fewer than 1200 ladies were invited; and the Cardinals of Narbon and St Severin, with many other prelates, were among the dancers. After dancing followed the feast, to regulate which there were no fewer employ'd than 160 master-households. Twelve hundred officers, in an uniform of velvet, or satin, carried the victuals, and served at the side-board. Every table, without distinction, was served with silver-plate, engraved with the arms of the landlord; and beside a prodigious number of Italian lords, the whole court, and all the household of the King, were feasted. The bill of fare of an entertainment given by Sir Watkin Williams Wynn to a company of 1500 persons, on his coming of age, is a sample of ancient English hospitality, which appears to have nothing in view but crouding and cramming merely. The following passage is from Hollinshed: "That the
" length and sumptuousness of feasts formerly in use, are not
" totally left off in England, notwithstanding that it proveth very
" beneficial to the physicians, who most abound where most ex-
" cess and misgovernment of our bodies do appear." He adds, that claret, and other French wines, were despised, and strong
wines

wines only in request. The best, he says, were to be found in monasteries; for "that the merchant would have thought his soul " would go straightway to the devil, if he should serve monks with " other than the best." Our forefathers relished strong wine, for the same reason that their forefathers relished brandy. In Scotland, sumptuous entertainments were common at marriages, baptisms, and burials. In the reign of Charles II. a statute was thought necessary to confine them within moderate bounds.

Of old, there was much eating, with little variety: at present, there is great variety, with more moderation. From a household-book of the Earl of Northumberland, in the reign of Henry VIII. it appears, that his family, during winter, fed mostly on salt-meat, and salt fish; and with that view there was an appointment of 160 gallons of mustard. On flesh-days through the year, breakfast for my Lord and Lady was a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, half a chine of mutton, or a chine of beef boiled. On meagre days, a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, a dish of butter, a piece of salt fish, or a dish of buttered eggs. During lent, a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish, six bacon'd herring, four white herring, or a dish of sproits. There was as little variety in the other meals, except on festival-days. That way of living was at the time high luxury: a lady's waiting-woman at present would never have done with grumbling at such a table. We learn from the same book, that the Earl had but two cooks for dressing victuals to more than two hundred domestics. In those days, hen, chicken, capon, pigeon, plover, partridge, were reckoned such delicacies, as to be prohibited except at my Lord's table (a).

But luxury is always creeping on, and delicacies become more familiar. Hollinshed observes, that white meats, milk, butter,

(a) Household-book above mentioned.

and

and cheefe, formerly the chief food of his countrymen, were in his time degraded to be the food of the lower sort; and that the wealthy fed upon flesh and fish. By a roll of the King of Scotland's household-expence, anno 1378, we find, that the art of gelding cattle was known. The roll is in Latin, and the gelt hogs are termed *porcelli eunuchi*. Mention is also made of chickens, which were not common on English tables at that time. Olive oil is also mentioned.

In this progress, cooks, we may believe, came to make a figure. Hollinshed observes, that the nobility, rejecting their own cookery, employ'd as cooks musical-headed Frenchmen and strangers, as he terms them. He says, that even merchants, when they gave a feast, rejected butcher's meat as unworthy of their tables; having jellies of all colours, and in all figures, representing flowers, trees, beasts, fish, fowl, and fruit. Henry Wardlaw Archbishop of St Andrew's, observing the refinements in cookery introduced by James I. of Scotland, who had been eighteen years a prisoner in England, exclaimed against the abuse in a parliament held at Perth 1433: he obtained a law, restraining superfluous diet; and prohibiting the use of baked meat to any under the degree of gentlemen, and permitting it to gentlemen on festival-days only; which baked meat, says the bishop, was never before seen in Scotland. The peasants in Sicily regale themselves with ice during summer. They say, that a scarcity of snow would be more grievous to them than a scarcity of corn, or of wine. Such progress has luxury made, even among the populace. People of fashion in London and in Paris, who employ their whole thoughts on luxurious living, would be surpris'd to be told, that they are still deficient in that art. In order to advance luxury of the table to the *acme* of perfection, there ought to be a cook for every dish, as there was in ancient Egypt a physician for every disease.

Barbarous nations, being great eaters, are fond of large joints
of

of meat: and love of show retains great joints in fashion, even after meals become more moderate: a wild boar was roasted whole for a supper-dish to Antony and Cleopatra; and when stuffed with poultry and wild-fowl, it was a favourite dish at Rome, termed the *Trojan boar*, in allusion to the Trojan horse. The hospitality of the Anglo-Saxons was sometimes exerted in roasting an ox whole. Great joints are left off gradually, as people become more and more delicate in eating. In France, great joints are less in use than formerly; and in England, the voluminous surloin of roast beef, formerly the pride of the nation, is now in polite families relegated to the side-board. In China, where manners are carried to a high degree of refinement, dishes are composed entirely of minced meat.

In early times, people were no less plain in their houses than in their food. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, when Hollinshed wrote, the people of England were beginning to build with brick and stone. Formerly houses were made of posts wattled together, and plaistered with clay to keep out the cold: the roof was straw, sedge, or reed. It was an observation of a Spaniard in Queen Mary's days, "These English have their houses of sticks and dirt, but they fare as well as the King." Hollinshed mentioning multitudes of chimneys lately erected, observes, upon the authority of some old men, that in their younger days there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm, religious houses and manor-places of their lords excepted; but that each made his fire against a rere-dosse in the hall, where he dined, and dressed his meat. From Lord Northumberland's household-book, it would seem, that grates were unknown at that time, and that they burnt their coal upon the hearth: a certain sum is allotted for purchasing wood; because, says the book, coals will not burn without it. There is also a certain sum allotted for purchasing charcoal, that the smoke of the fea-

coal might not hurt the arras. In the fourteenth century, the houses of private persons in Paris, as well as in London, were of wood. The streets of Paris, not being paved, were covered with mud; and yet for a woman to travel those streets in a cart, was held an article of luxury, and as such prohibited by Philip the Fair. Paris is enlarged two thirds since the death of Henry IV. tho' at that time it was perhaps not much less populous than at present.

They were equally plain in their household-furniture. While money was scarce, servants got land instead of wages. An old tenure in England binds the vassal to find straw for the King's bed, and hay for his horse. From Lord Northumberland's household-book, mentioned above, it appears, that the linen allowed for a whole year amounted to no more than seventy ells; of which there were to be eight table-cloths (no napkins) for his Lordship's table, and two towels for washing his face and hands. Pewter vessel was prohibited to be hired, except on Christmas, Easter, St George's day, and Whitsunday. Hollinshed mentions his conversing with old men who remarked many alterations in England within their remembrance; that their fathers, and they themselves formerly, had nothing to sleep on but a straw pallat, with a log of timber for a pillow; a pillow, said they, being thought meet only for a woman in childbed; and that if a man in seven years after marriage could purchase a flock-bed, and a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself as well lodged as the lord of the town; who peradventure lay seldom on a bed entirely of feathers. Another thing they remarked, was change of household-vessel from timber plates into pewter, and from wooden spoons into tin or silver.

Nor were they less plain in their dress. By an act of parliament in Scotland, *anno* 1429, none were permitted to wear silk or costly furs, but knights and lords of 200 merks yearly rent. But luxury in dress advanced so fast, that by another act, *anno* 1457, the same dress was permitted to aldermen, bailies, and other good worthy

worthy men within burgh. And by a third act, anno 1471, it was permitted to gentlemen of L. 100 yearly rent. By a sumptuary law in Scotland, anno 1621, cloth of gold and silver, gold and silver lace, velvet, satin, and other silk stuffs, were prohibited except to noblemen, their wives and children, to lords of parliament, prelates, privy counsellors, lords of manors, judges, magistrates of towns, and to those who have 6000 merks of yearly rent. Such distinctions, with respect to landed rent especially, are invidious; nor can they ever be kept up. James, the first British monarch, was, during infancy, committed to the care of the Dowager-Countess of Mar, who had been educated in France. The King being seized with a cholic in the night-time, his household servants flew to his bed-chamber, men and women, naked as they were born; the Countess alone had a smock.

During the reign of Edward III. the imports into England were not the seventh part of the exports. Our exports at that time were not the seventh part of our present exports; and yet our luxury is such, that with all our political regulations, it is with difficulty that the balance of trade is preserved in our favour.

Men in different ages differ widely in their notions of luxury: every new object of sensual gratification, and every indulgence beyond what is usual, are commonly termed *luxury*; and cease to be luxury when they turn habitual. Thus, every historian, ancient and modern, while he inveighs against the luxury of his own times, wonders at former historians for characterising as luxury what he considers as conveniencies merely, or rational improvements. Hear the Roman historian, talking of the war that his countrymen carried on successfully against Antiochus King of Syria:

"Luxuriæ enim peregrinæ origo ab exercitu Asiatico invec-ta ur-bem est. Ii primum lectos æratos, vestem stragulam pretio-sam, plagulas et alia textilia, et quæ tum magnificæ supellec-ti-lis habebantur, monopodia et abacos Romam advexerunt. Tunc

"psaltriæ sambusistræque, et convivalia ludionum oblectamenta
 "addita epulis: epulæ quoque ipsæ et cura et sumptu majore ad-
 "parari cœptæ: tum coquus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium esti-
 "matione et usu, in pretio esse; et, quod ministerium fuerat,
 "ars haberi cœpta. Vix tamen illa, quæ tum conspiciebantur,
 "semina erant futuræ luxuriæ * (a)." Household-furniture at
 Rome must at that period have been exceedingly plain, when a
 carpet and a one-footed table were reckoned articles of luxury.
 When the gelding of bulls and rams was first practised, it was pro-
 bably considered as abominable luxury. Galvanus Fiamma, who
 in the fourteenth century wrote a history of Milan his native
 country, complains, that in his time plain living had given way
 to luxury and extravagance. He regrets the times of Frederic
 Barbarossa and Frederic II. when the inhabitants of Milan, a great
 capital, had but three flesh meals in a week, when wine was a ra-
 rity, when the better sort made use of dried wood for candles,
 and when their shirts were of serge, linen being confined to per-
 sons of the highest rank. "Matters," says he, "are wonder-
 "fully changed: linen is a common wear; the women dress in silk,
 "ornamented frequently with gold and silver; and they wear

* "For the Asiatic soldiers first introduced into Rome the foreign luxury.
 They first brought with them beds ornamented with brazen sculptures, painted co-
 verings, curtains and tapestry, and what were then esteemed magnificent furniture,
 side-boards, and tables with one foot. Then to the luxury of our feasts were add-
 ed singing girls, female players on the lute, and morris-dancers: greater care and
 expence were bestowed upon our entertainments: the cook, whom our forefathers
 reckoned the meanest slave, became now in high esteem and request; and what
 was formerly a servile employment, was now exalted into a science. All these
 however scarcely deserve to be reckoned the seeds or buds of the luxury of after
 times."

(a) Tit. Liv. lib. 39. cap. 6.

"gold pendants at their ears." A historian of the present times would laugh at Fiamma, for stating as articles of luxury what are no more but decent for a tradesman and his wife. John Muffo, a native of Lombardy, who also wrote in the fourteenth century, declaims against the luxury of his time, and particularly against the luxury of the citizens of Placentia, his countrymen. "Luxury of the table," says he, "of dress, of houses and household-furniture, in Placentia, begun to creep in after the year 1300. Houses have at present halls, rooms with chimneys, portico's, wells, gardens, and many other conveniencies unknown to our ancestors. A house that has now many chimneys, had none in the last age. The fire was placed in the middle of the house, without any vent for the smoke but the tiles: all the family sat round it, and the victuals were dressed there. The expence of household-furniture is ten times greater than it was sixty years ago. The taste for such expence comes to us from France, from Flanders, and from Spain. Eating-tables, formerly but twelve inches long, are now grown to eighteen. They have tablecloths, with cups, spoons, and forks, of silver, and large knives. Beds have silk coverings and curtains. They have got candles of tallow or wax, in candlesticks of iron or copper. Almost every where there are two fires, one for the chamber and one for the kitchen. Confections have come greatly in use, and sensuality regards no expence." Hollinshed exclaims against the luxury and effeminacy of his time. "In times past," says he, "men were contented to dwell in houses builded of fallow, willow, plumbtree, or elm; so that the use of oak was dedicated to churches, religious houses, princes palaces, noble mens lodgings, and navigation. But now these are rejected, and nothing but oak any whit regarded. And yet see the change; for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houses are made of oak, our
"men

“ men are not only become willow, but many, thro’ Persian delicacy crept in among us, altogether of straw, which is a fore alteration. In those days, the courage of the owner was a sufficient defence to keep the house in safety; but now, the assurance of the timber, double doors, locks and bolts, must defend the man from robbing. Now have we many chimneys, and our tenderlings complain of rheums, catarrhs, and poses. Then had we none but rere-dosses, and our heads did never ake. For as the smoke in those days was supposed to be a sufficient hardening for the timber of the house; so it was reputed a far better medicine to keep the goodman and his family from the quack or pose, wherewith very few were then acquainted.”

Not many years above fifty, French wine, in the Edinburgh taverns, was presented to the guests in a small tin vessel, measuring about an English pint. A single drinking-glass served a company the whole evening; and the first persons who insisted for a clean glass with every new pint were accused of luxury. A knot of highlanders benighted, wrapped themselves up in their plaids, and lay down on the snow to sleep. A young gentleman making up a ball of snow, used it for a pillow. His father (a), striking away the ball with his foot, “What, Sir,” says he, “are you turning effeminate?” Crantz, describing the kingdom of Norway, and the manners of the people, has the following reflection. “Robustissimos educat viros, qui, nulla frugum luxuria moliti, sæpius impugnant alios quam impugnantur*.” In the mountainous island of Rum, one of the western islands of Scotland,

* “It produces a most robust race of men, who are enervated by no luxury of food, and are more prone to attack and harass their neighbours than subjected to their attacks.”

(a) Sir Evan Cameron.

the corn produced serves the inhabitants but a few months in winter. The rest of the year they live on flesh, fish, and milk; and yet are healthy and long-lived. In the year 1768, a man died there, aged 103, who was 50 years old before he ever tasted bread. This old man frequently harangued upon the plain fare of former times, finding fault with his neighbours for indulging in bread; and upbraiding them with their toiling like slaves for the production of such an unnecessary article of luxury.

Thus every one exclaims against the luxury of the present times, judging more favourably of the past; as if what is luxury at present, would cease to be luxury when it becomes customary. What is the foundation of a sentiment so universal? In point of dignity, corporeal pleasures are the lowest of all that belong to our nature; and for that reason, persons of delicacy dissemble the pleasure they take in eating and drinking (*a*). When corporeal pleasure is indulged to excess, it is not only low, but mean. But as in judging of things that admit of degrees, comparison is the ordinary standard, every refinement in corporeal pleasure beyond what is customary, is held to be an excess, blameable as below the dignity of human nature. Thus every improvement in living is pronounced to be luxury while recent, and drops that character when it comes into common use. For the same reason, what is moderation in the capital, is esteemed luxury in a country-town. Doth luxury then depend entirely on comparison? is there no other foundation for distinguishing moderation from excess? This will hardly be maintained.

This subject is thrown into obscurity by giving different meanings to the term *luxury*. A French writer holds every sort of food to be luxury, but raw flesh and acorns, which were the original food of savages; and every sort of covering to be luxury but

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 356. edit. 5.

skins,

skins, which were their original cloathing. According to that definition, the plough, the spade, the loom, are all of them instruments of luxury; and in that view he justly extols luxury to the skies. Let every man enjoy the privilege of giving his own meaning to words: at the same time, when a man deviates so far from their usual meaning, the neglect to define them is inexcusable. In common language, and in common apprehension, luxury always implies a faulty excess; and upon that account is condemned by all writers, such only excepted as affect to be singular.

This is clearly one branch of the definition of luxury. Another is, that the excess must be habitual: a single act of intemperance, however faulty, is not denominated luxury: reiteration must be so frequent as to become a confirmed habit.

Nor are these particulars all that enter into the definition of luxury. There are many pleasures, however intemperate or habitual, that are not branded with that odious name. Mental pleasure, such as arises from sentiment or reasoning, falls not within the verge of luxury, to whatever excess indulged. If to relieve merit in distress be luxury, it is only so in a metaphorical sense: nor is it deemed luxury in a damsel of fifteen to peruse love-novels from morning to evening. Luxury is confined to the external senses: nor does it belong to every one of these; the fine arts have no relation to luxury. A man is not even said to be luxurious, merely for indulging in dress, or in fine furniture. Hollinshed inveighs against drinking-glasses as an article of luxury. At that rate, a house adorned with fine pictures or statues would be an imputation on the proprietor. Thus passing in review every pleasure of external sense, we find, that in proper language the term luxury is not applicable to any pleasure of the eye or ear. That term is confined to the pleasures of taste, touch, and smell, which

which appear as existing at the organ of sense, and upon that account are held to be merely corporeal (a).

Having thus circumscribed our subject within its proper bounds, the important point that remains to be ascertained is, Whether we have any rule for determining what excess in corporeal pleasure may justly be denominated faulty. About that point we are at no loss. Tho' our present life be a state of trial, yet our Maker has kindly indulged us in every pleasure that is not hurtful to the mind, or to the body; and therefore it can only be hurtful excess that falls under the censure of being luxurious. It is faulty as a transgression of self-duty; and as such it is condemned by the moral sense. The most violent declaimer against luxury will not affirm, that bread is luxury, or a snow-ball used for a pillow; for these are innocent, because they do no harm. As little will it be affirmed, that dwelling-houses more capacious than those originally built ought to be condemned as luxury, since they contribute to cheerfulness as well as to health. The plague, some centuries ago, made frequent visits in London, promoted by air stagnating in narrow streets, and small houses. After the great fire anno 1666, the houses and streets were enlarged, and the plague has not once been known in London.

Man consists of soul and body, so intimately connected, that the one cannot be at ease while the other suffers. In order to have *mens sana in corpore sano*, it is necessary to study the health of both: bodily health supports the mind; and nothing tends more than cheerfulness to support the body, even under a disease. To preserve this complicated machine in order, certain exercises are proper for the body, and certain for the mind; which ought never to encroach the one on the other. Much motion and bodily exercise tend to make us robust; but in the mean time the mind

(a) See Elements of Criticism, Introduction.

is starved : much reading and reflection fortify the mind, but in the mean time the body is starved. Nor is this all : excess in either is destructive to both ; for exercise too violent, whether of mind or body, wears the machine. Indolence, on the other hand, relaxes the machine, and renders it weak or languid. Bodily indolence breeds the gout, the gravel, and many other diseases : nor is mental indolence less pernicious, for it breeds peevishness and pusillanimity. Thus health both of mind and body is best preserved by moderate exercise. And hence a general proposition, That every indulgence in corporeal pleasure, which favours either too violent or too languid exercise, whether of mind or body, is hurtful, and consequently is luxury in its proper sense. It is scarce necessary to be added, that every such indulgence is condemned by the moral sense ; for every man can bear testimony of this from what he himself feels.

Too great indulgence in corporeal pleasure seldom prompts violent exercise ; but instances are without number of its relaxing even that moderate degree of exercise which is healthful both to mind and body. This, in particular is the case of too great indulgence in eating or drinking : such indulgence creates a habitual appetite, which demanding more than nature requires, loads the stomach, depresses the spirits, and brings on a habit of listlessness and inactivity, which renders men cowardly and effeminate *. And what does the epicure gain by such excess ? In the grandest palace the master occupies not a greater space than his meanest domestic ; and brings to his most sumptuous feast perhaps less appetite than any of his guests. Satiety withal makes him lose the

* Luxury and selfishness render men cowards. People who are attached to riches, and sensual pleasure, cannot think of abandoning them without horror. A virtuous man considers himself as placed here in order to obey the will of his Maker : he performs his duty, and is ready to quit his post upon the first summons.

relish even of rarities, which afford to others a poignant pleasure. What enjoyment then have the opulent above others? Let them bestow their riches in making others happy: such benevolence will double their own happiness, first, in the direct act of doing good; and next, in reflecting upon the good they have done, the most delicate of all feasts.

Had the English continued Pagans, they would have invented a new deity to preside over cookery. I say it with regret, but must say it, that a luxurious table, covered with every dainty, seems to be their favourite idol. A minister of state never withstands a feast; and the link that unites those in opposition is, the cramming one another *. I shall not be surpris'd to hear, that the cramming a mistress has become the most fashionable mode of courtship. That sort of luxury is not unknown in their universities; and it is perhaps the only branch of education that seldom proves abortive. It has not escap'd observation, that between the 1740 and 1770 no fewer than six mayors of London died in office, a greater number than in the preceding 500 years: such havock doth luxury in eating make among the sons of Albion. How different the manners of their forefathers! Bon-duca their Queen, ready to engage the Romans in a pitched battle, encouraged her army with a pathetic speech, urging in particular the following consideration: "The great advantage we have over them is, that they cannot, like us, bear hunger, thirst, heat, nor cold. They must have fine bread, wine, and warm houses: every herb and root satisfies our hunger; water supplies the want of wine; and every tree is to us a warm house (a) †."

The

(a) Dion Cassius.

* This was compos'd in the year 1770.

† Providence has provided the gout as a beacon on the rock of luxury to warn

The indulging in down-beds, soft pillows, and easy seats, is a species of luxury, because it tends to enervate the body, and to render it unfit for fatigue. Some London ladies employ an operator for pairing their nails. Two young women of high quality, who were sisters, employ'd a servant with soft hands to raise them gently out of bed in a morning. Nothing less than all-powerful vanity can make such persons submit to the fatigues of a toilet: how can they ever think of submitting to the horrid pangs of child-bearing? In the hot climates of Asia, people of rank are rubbed and chaffed twice a-day; which, beside being pleasant, is necessary for health, by moving the blood, in a hot country, where sloth and indolence prevail. The Greeks and Romans were curried, bathed, and oiled, daily; tho' they had not the same excuse for that practice: it was luxury in them, tho' not in the Asiatics.

With respect to exercise, the various machines that have been invented for executing every sort of work, render bodily strength of less importance than formerly. This change is favourable to mental operations, without hurting bodily health. The travelling on horseback, tho' a less vigorous exertion of strength than walking, is not luxury, because it is a healthful exercise. I dare not say so much for wheel-carriages: a spring-coach, rolling along a smooth road, gives no exercise; or so little, as to be preventive of no disease: it tends to enervate the body, and in some measure also the mind. The increase of wheel-carriages within a century is a pregnant proof of the growth of luxurious indolence. During the reign of James I. the English judges rode to Westminster on horseback, and probably did so for many years after his death. Charles I.

against it. But in vain: during distress, vows of temperance are made: during the intervals, these vows are forgot. Luxury has gained too much ground in this island to be restrained by admonition.

issued

issued a proclamation, prohibiting hackney-coaches to be used in London, except by those who travel at least three miles out of town. At the Restoration, Charles II. made his public entry into London on horseback, between his two brothers, Dukes of York and Gloucester. We have Rushworth for our voucher, that in London, not above a hundred years ago, there were but twenty hackney-coaches; which at the same time did not ply on the streets, but were kept at home till called for. He adds, that the King and council published a proclamation against them, because they raised the price of provender upon the King, nobility, and gentry. At present, 1000 hackney-coaches ply on the streets of London, beside a great number of stage-coaches for travelling from London to all parts of the kingdom. The first coach with glasses in France was brought from Brussels to Paris, *anno* 1660, by the Prince of Condé. Sedan-chairs were not known in England before the year 1634. Cookery and coaches have reduced the military spirit of the English nobility and gentry to a languid state: the former, by overloading the body, has infected them with dispiriting ailments; the latter, by fostering ease and indolence, have banished labour, the only antidote to such ailments. Too great indulgence in the fine arts consumes part of that time which ought to be employ'd on the important duties of life: but the fine arts, even when too much indulged, produce one good effect, which is, to soften and humanize our manners: nor do they harm the body, if they relax not that degree of exercise which is necessary for supporting it in health and vigour.

The enervating effects of luxury upon the body are above all remarkable in war. The officers of Alexander's army were soon tainted with Asiatic manners. Most of them, after bathing, had servants for rubbing them, and instead of plain oil, used precious ointments. Leonatus in particular commissioned from Egypt the powder he used when he wrestled, which loaded several camels.

Alexander

Alexander reproved them mildly : " I wonder that men who have
 " undergone such fatigues in war, are not taught by experience,
 " that labour produces sweeter and sounder sleep than indolence.
 " To be voluptuous is an abject and slavish state. How can a
 " man take care of his horse, or keep his armour bright, who
 " disdains to employ his own hands upon what is dearest to him,
 " his own body (a) ? "

When we attend to the mind singly, manifold are the pernicious effects of luxury. Corporeal pleasures, being all of them selfish, tend, when much indulged, to make selfishness the leading principle. Voluptuousness accordingly, relaxing every sympathetic affection, brings on a beastly selfishness, which leaves nothing of man but the external figure. Luxury beside renders the mind so effeminate as to be subdued by every distress : the slightest pain, whether of mind or body, is a real evil : and any higher degree becomes a severe torture. The French are far gone in that disease. Pictures of deep distress, which attract English spectators, are to the French unsupportable : their aversion to pain overcomes the attractive power of sympathy, and debars from the stage every distress that makes a deep impression on the heart. The British are gradually sinking into the same weakness of mind : *Venice preserv'd* collects not such numbers as it did originally ; and would scarce be endured at present, were not our sympathy blunted by familiarity : a new play upon a similar plan would not take. The gradual decay of manhood in Britain appears from their funeral rites. Formerly the deceased were attended to the grave by relations and friends of both sexes ; and the day of their death was preserved in remembrance with solemn lamentations, as the day of their birth was with exhilarating cups. In England a man was first relieved from attending his deceased wife to the grave ; and afterward from at-

(a) Plutarch.

tending his deceased children ; and now such effeminacy of mind prevails there, that instantly upon the last groan, the deceased, abandoned by every relation, is delivered to an undertaker by profession, who is left at leisure to mimic the funeral rites. In Scotland, such refinement has not yet taken place : a man is indeed excused from attending his wife to the grave ; but he performs that duty in person to every other relation, his children not excepted. I am told, that people of high fashion in England begin to leave the care of their sick relations to hired nurses ; and think they do their duty in making short visits from time to time.

Hitherto I have considered luxury with respect to those only who are infected with it ; and did its poisonous effects spread no wider, the case perhaps would be the less deplorable. But unhappily, where luxury prevails, the innocent suffer with the guilty. A man of economy, whether a merchant or a manufacturer, lays up a stock for his children, and adds useful members to the state. A man, on the contrary, who lives above his fortune, or his profits, accustoms his children to luxury, and abandons them to poverty when he dies. Luxury at the same time is a great enemy to population : it enhances the expence of living, and confines many to the bachelor-state. Luxury of the table in particular is remarkable for that effect : “ *L’homme riche met toute sa gloire à consumer, toute sa grandeur à perdre en un jour à sa table plus de biens qu’il n’en faudroit pour faire subsister plusieurs familles. Il abuse également et des animaux et des hommes ; dont le reste demeure affamé, languit dans la misère, et ne travaille que pour satisfaire à l’appétit immodéré, et à la vanité encore plus insatiable, de cet homme ; qui détruisant les autres par la disette, se détruit lui-même par les excès (a) **.”

To

(a) Buffon.

* “ The sole glory of the rich man is, to consume and destroy ; and his grandeur

To consider luxury in a political view, no refinement of dress, of the table, of equipage, of habitation, is luxury in those who can afford the expence; and the public gains by the encouragement that is given to arts, manufactures, and commerce. But a mode of living above a man's annual income, weakens the state, by reducing to poverty, not only the squanderers themselves, but many innocent and industrious persons connected with them. Luxury is above all pernicious in a commercial state. A person of moderation is satisfied with small profits: not so the luxurious, who despise every branch of trade but what returns great profits: other branches are ingrossed by foreigners who are more frugal. The merchants of Amsterdam, and even of London, within a century, lived with more economy than their clerks do at present. Their country-houses and gardens make not the greatest articles of their expence. At first, a merchant retires to his country-house on Sundays only and holydays: but beginning to relish indolent retirement, business grows irksome, he trusts all to his clerks, loses the thread of his affairs, sees no longer with his own eyes, and is now in the high way to perdition. Every cross accident makes him totter; and in labouring circumstances he is tempted to venture all in hopes of re-establishment. He falls at last to downright gaming; which, setting conscience aside, is a prudent measure: he risks only the money of his creditors, for he himself has nothing to lose: it is now with him, *Cæsar aut nihil* *. Such a man never falls without involving many in his ruin,

"deur consists, in lavishing in one day upon the expence of his table what would procure subsistence for many families. He abuses equally animals and his fellow-creatures; a great part of whom, a prey to famine, and languishing in misery, labour and toil to satisfy his immoderate desires, and insatiable vanity; who, destroying others by want, destroys himself by excess."

* "Cæsar or nothing."

The bad effects of luxury above display'd, are not the whole, nor indeed the most destructive. In all times luxury has been the ruin of every state where it prevailed. But that more important branch of the subject is reserved to particular sketches, where it will make a better figure.

In the savage state, man is almost all body, with a very small proportion of mind. In the maturity of civil society, he is complete both in mind and body. In a state of degeneracy by luxury and voluptuousness, he has neither mind nor body*.

* In ancient Egypt, execution against the person of a debtor was prohibited. Such a law could not obtain but among a temperate people, where bankruptcy happens by misfortune, and seldom by luxury or extravagance.

Vol. I.

Y y

SKETCHES

S K E T C H E S
O F T H E
H I S T O R Y O F M A N.

B O O K I I.

Progress of M E N in S O C I E T Y.

P R E F A C E.

*I*N treating of this subject, no opportunity has been omitted of suggesting an important doctrine, That patriotism is the corner-stone of civil society; that no nation ever became great and powerful without it; and, when extinguished, that the most powerful nation is in the high-way to contempt and dissolution. But it is sufficient for me to suggest facts: the reader will have frequent opportunities to make the observation; and he will value his own reflections more than what are inculcated by an author, were he even to ascend the pulpit, and at every turn to pronounce a serious harangue.

S K E T C H

S K E T C H I.

Appetite for SOCIETY.—Origin of NATIONAL SOCIETIES.

THat there is in man an appetite for society, never was called in question *. But to what end the appetite serves, whether it be in any manner limited, and how far men are naturally fitted for being useful members of civil society, and for being happy in it, are

* This appetite is not denied by Vitruvius; but it seems to have been overlooked in the account he gives (book 2. ch. 1.) of the commencement of society, which is as follows. " In ancient times, men, like wild beasts, lived in caves and woods, feeding on wild food. In a certain place it happened, that the trees, put in motion by tempestuous winds, and rubbing their branches one against another, took fire. Those in the neighbourhood fled for fear: but as the flames abated, they approached; and finding the heat comfortable, they threw wood into the fire, and preserved it from being extinguished. They then invited others to take benefit of the fire. Men, thus assembled, endeavoured to express their thoughts by articulate sounds; and by daily practice, certain sounds, signifying things in frequent use, came to be established. From that casual event, language arose. And thus, fire having attracted many to one place, they soon discovered that they were by nature superior to other animals, differing from them not only in an erect posture, which gave them opportunity to behold the beauties of the heavens as well as of the earth; but also in their hands and fingers, fitted for executing whatever they could invent. They therefore began to cover their habitations with the boughs of trees; some dug caves in the mountains; and, in imitation of a swallow's nest, some sheltered themselves with sprigs and loam. Thus, by observing each other's work, and turning their thoughts to

Y y 2

" invention,

are questions that open extensive views into human nature, and yet have been little attended to by writers. I grieve at the neglect, because the present enquiry requires an answer to these questions, however abstruse.

As many animals, beside man, are social, it appeared to me probable, that the social laws by which such animals are governed, might open views into the social nature of man. But here I met with a second disappointment: for after perusing books without end, I found very little satisfaction; tho' the laws of animal society make the most instructive and most entertaining part of natural history. A few dry facts, collected occasionally, enabled me to form the embryo of a plan, which I here present to the reader: if his curiosity be excited, 'tis well; for I am far from expecting that it will be gratified.

Animals of prey have no appetite for society, if the momentary act of copulation be not excepted. Wolves make not an exception, even where, instigated by hunger, they join in attacking a village: as fear prevents them singly from an attempt so hazardous, their casual union is prompted by appetite for food, not by appetite for society. So little of the social is there in wolves, that if one happen to be wounded, he is put to death, and devoured by those of his own kind. Vultures have the same disposition. Their ordinary food is a dead carcase; and they never venture but in a body to attack any living creature that appears formidable. Upon society happiness so much depends, that we do not willingly admit a lion, a tiger, a bear, or a wolf, to have any appetite for society. And in with-holding it

“invention, they by degrees improved their habitations, and became daily more
“and more skilful.” Has not the celebrated Rousseau been guilty of the same oversight in his essay on the inequality of men? These authors suggest to me the butcher, who made diligent search for his knife, which he held in his teeth.

from

from such animals, the goodness of Providence to its favourite man, is conspicuous: their strength, agility, and voracity, make them singly not a little formidable: I should tremble for the human race, were they disposed to make war in company*.

Such harmless animals as cannot defend themselves singly, are provided with an appetite for society, that they may defend themselves in a body. Sheep are remarkable in that respect, when left to nature: a ram seldom attacks; but the rams of a flock exert great vigour in defending their females and their young†. The whole

* The care of Providence in protecting the human race from animals of prey, is equally visible in other particulars. I can discover no facts to make me believe, that a lion or a tiger is afraid of a man; but whatever secret means are employ'd by Providence, to keep such fierce and voracious animals at a distance, certain it is, that they shun the habitations of men. At present there is not a wild lion in Europe. Even in Homer's time there were none in Peloponnesus, tho' they were frequent in Thrace, Macedon, and Theffaly, down to the time of Aristotle: whence it is probable, that these countries were not at that time well peopled. When men and cattle are together, a lion always attacks a beast, and never a man. M. Buffon observes, that the bear, tho' far from being cowardly, never is at ease but in wild and desert places. The great condor of Peru, a bird of prey of an immense size, bold, and rapacious, is never seen but in deserts and high mountains. Every river in the coast of Guinea abounds with crocodiles, which lie basking in the sun during the heat of the day. If they perceive a man approaching, they plunge into the river, tho' they seldom fly from any other animal. A fox, on the contrary, a pole-cat, a kite, tho' afraid of man, draw near to inhabited places where they find prey in plenty. Such animals do little mischief; and the little they do, promotes care and vigilance. But if men, like sheep, were the natural prey of a lion or a tiger, their utmost vigour and sagacity would scarce be sufficient for self-defence. Perpetual war would be their fate, without having a single moment for any other occupation; and they could never have emerged out of brutal barbarity. It is possible that a few cattle might be protected by armed men, continually on the watch; but to defend flocks and herds covering a hundred hills, would be impracticable. Agriculture could never have existed in any shape.

* M. Buffon has bestowed less pains than becomes an author of his character, upon

whole society of rooks join in attacking a kite when it hovers about them. A family of wild swine never separate till the young be sufficiently strong to defend themselves against the wolf; and when the wolf threatens, they all join in a body. The pecary is a sort of wild hog in the isthmus of Darien: if one of them be attacked, the rest run to assist it. There being a natural antipathy between that animal and the American tiger, it is not uncommon to find a tiger slain with a number of dead pecaries round him.

The social appetite is to some animals useful, not only for defence, but for procuring the necessaries of life. Society among beavers is a notable instance of both. As water is the only refuge of that innocent species against an enemy, they instinctively make their settlement on the brink of a lake or of a running stream. In the latter case, they keep up the water to a proper height by a dam-dike, constructed with so much art as to withstand the greatest floods: in the former, they save themselves the labour of a dam-dike, because a lake generally keeps at the same height. Having thus provided for defence, their next care is to provide food and habitation. The whole society join in erecting the dam-dike; and they also join in erecting houses. Each house has two apartments: in the upper there is space for lodging from six to ten beavers: the under holds their provisions, which are trees

upon the nature and instincts of animals: he indeed scarce once stumbles upon truth in his natural history of the sheep. He holds it to be stupid, and incapable to defend itself against any beast of prey; maintaining, that the race could not have subsisted but under the care and protection of men. Has that author forgot, that sheep had no enemy more formidable than men in their original hunter-state? Far from being neglected by nature, there are few animals better provided for defence. They have a sort of military instinct, forming a line of battle, like soldiers, when threatened with an attack. The rams, who, in a natural state, make half of the flock, join together; and no lion or tiger is able to resist their united impetuosity.

cut down by united labour, and divided into small portable parts (a). Bees are a similar instance. Aristotle (b) says, "that bees are the only animals which labour in common, have a house in common, eat in common, and have their offspring in common." A single bee would be still less able than a single beaver, to build a house for itself and for its winter-food. The Alpine rat or marmout has no occasion to store up food for winter, because it lies benumbed without motion all the cold months. But these animals live in tribes; and each tribe digs a habitation under ground with great art, sufficiently capacious for lodging the whole tribe; covering the ground with withered grass, which some cut, and others carry. The wild dogs of Congo and Angola hunt in packs, waging perpetual war against other wild beasts. They bring to the place of rendezvous whatever is caught in hunting; and each receives its share *. The baboons are social animals, and avail themselves of that quality in procuring food; witness their address in robbing an orchard, described by Kolben in his account of the Cape of Good Hope. Some go into the orchard, some place themselves on the wall, the rest form a line on the outside, and the fruit is thrown from hand to hand, till it reach the place of rendezvous. Extending the enquiry to all known animals, we find that the appetite for society is withheld from no species to which it is necessary, whether for defence or for food. It appears to be distributed by weight and measure, in

* However fierce with respect to other animals, yet so submissive are these dogs to men, as to suffer their prey to be taken from them without resistance. Europeans salt for their slaves what they thus obtain.

(a) See the works of the beaver described most accurately by M. Buffon, vol. 8.

(b) History of animals, b. 9. c. 40.

order to accommodate the internal frame of animals to their external circumstances.

On some animals an appetite for society is bestow'd, tho' in appearance not necessary either for defence or for food. With regard to such, the only final cause we can discover is the pleasure of living in society. That kind of society is found among horses. Outhier, one of the French academicians employ'd to measure a degree of the meridian toward the north pole, reports, that at Torneo all bulky goods are carried in boats during summer; but in winter, when the rivers are frozen, and the ground covered with snow, that they use sledges drawn by horses; that when the snow melts, and the rivers are open, the horses, set loose, rendezvous at a certain part of the forest, where they separate into troops, and occupy different pasture-fields; that when these fields become bare, they occupy new ground in the same order as at first; that they return home in troops when the bad weather begins; and that every horse knows its own stall. No creature stands less in need of society than a hare, whether for food or for defence. Of food, it has plenty under its feet; and for defence, it is provided both with cunning and swiftness. Nothing however is more common in a moon-light night, than to see hares sporting together in the most social manner. But society for pleasure only, is an imperfect kind of society; and far from being so intimate, as where it is provided by nature for defence, or for procuring food *.

With

* Pigeons must be excepted, if their society be not necessary either for food or habitation, of which I am uncertain. Society among that species is extremely intimate; and it is observable, that the place they inhabit contributes to the intimacy. A crazy dove-cot moved the proprietor to transfer the inhabitants to a new house built for them; and to accustom them to it, they were kept a fortnight within doors, with plenty of food. When they obtained liberty, they flew directly to their

With respect to the extent of the appetite, no social animal, as far as can be discovered, has an appetite for associating with the whole species. Every species is divided into many small tribes; and these tribes have no appetite for associating with each other: on the contrary, a stray sheep is thrust out of the flock, and a stray bee must instantly retire, or be stung to death. Every work of Providence contributes to some good end: a small tribe is sufficient for mutual defence; and a very large tribe would be diffculted in procuring subsistence.

How far brute animals are by nature fitted for being useful members of civil society, and for being happy in it, is a question that no writer hath so much as stumbled on. And yet, as that branch of natural history is also necessary to my plan, I must proceed; tho' I have nothing to lay before the reader but a few scattered observations, which occurred when I had no view of turning them to account. I begin with the instinctive conduct of animals, in providing against danger. When a flock of sheep in the state of nature goes to rest, sentinels are appointed; who, on appearance of an enemy, stamp with the foot, and make a hissing sound; upon which all take the alarm: if no enemy appear, they watch their time, return to the flock, and send out others in their stead. And in flocks that have an extensive range in hilly countries, the same discipline obtains, even after domestication. Tho' monkeys sleep upon trees, yet a sentinel is always appointed, who must not sleep under pain of being torn to pieces. They preserve the same discipline when they rob an orchard: a sentinel on a high tree is watchful to announce the very first appearance of an enemy. M. Buffon, talking of a sort of monkey which he terms *Mal-*

their old house; and seeing it laid flat, walked round and round, lamenting. They then took wing and disappeared, without once casting an eye on their new habitation.

brouck, says, that they are fond of fruit, and of sugar-canes; and that while they are loading themselves, one is placed sentinel on a tree, who, upon the approach of a man, cries, *Houp! Houp! Houp!* loudly and distinctly. That moment they throw away the sugar-canes that they hold in their left hand, and run off upon three feet. When the marmouts are at work in the field, one is appointed to watch on a high rock; which advertises them by a loud whistle, when it sees a man, an eagle, or a dog. Among beavers, notice is given of the approach of an enemy, by lashing the water with the tail, which is heard in every habitation. Seals always sleep on the beach; and to prevent surprise, sentinels are placed round at a considerable distance from the main body. Wild elephants, which always travel in company, are less on their guard in places unfrequented: but when they invade cultivated fields, they march in order, the eldest in the front, and the next in age closing the rear. The weak are placed in the centre, and the females carry their young on their trunk. They attack in a body; and upon a repulse, retire in a body. Tame elephants retain so much of their original nature, that if one, upon being wounded, turn its back, the rest instantly follow. Next in order is the government of a tribe, and the conduct of its members to each other. It is not unlikely, that society among some animals, and their mutual affection, may be so entire as to prevent all discord among them; which indeed seems to be the case of beavers. Such a society, if there be such, requires no government, nor any laws. A flock of sheep occupies the same spot every night, and each hath its own resting-place. The same is observable in horned cattle when folded. And as we find not, that any one ever attempts to dislodge another, it is probable that such restraint makes a branch of their nature. But society among brute animals is not always so perfect. Perverse inclinations, tending to disturb society, are visible among some brute animals, as well as among rational men. It is
not

not uncommon for a rook to pilfer sticks from another's nest; and the pilferer's nest is demolished by the *lex talionis*. Perverse inclinations require government, and government requires laws. As in the case now mentioned, the whole society join in inflicting the punishment, government among rooks appears to be republican. Apes, on the contrary, are under monarchical government. Apes in Siam go in troops, each under a leader, who preserves strict discipline. A female carnally inclined, retired from the troop, and was followed by a male. The male escaped from the leader, who pursued them; but the female was brought back, and in presence of the whole troop received fifty blows on the cheek, as a chastisement for its incontinence (a). But probably there are not many instances among brutes of government approaching so near to that of men. Government among horned cattle appears to have no other end but to preserve order. Their government is monarchical; and the election is founded upon personal valour, the most solid of all qualifications in such a society. The bull who aspires to be lord of the herd, must fight his way to preferment; and after all his rivals are beat off the field, the herd tamely submit. At the same time he is not secured in the throne for life; but must again enter the lists with any bull that ventures to challenge him. The same spirit is observable among oxen, tho' in a lower degree. The master-ox leads the rest into the stable, or into the fold, and becomes unruly if he be not let first out: nay, he must be first yoked in the plough or waggon. Sheep are not employ'd in work, but in every other respect the same economy obtains among them. Where the rams happen to be few in proportion to the other sheep, they sometimes divide the flock among them, instead of fighting for precedence. Five or six score of sheep were purchased a few years ago by the author of

(a) Memoirs of Count Forbin.

this work. The rams, who were only two, divided the flock between them. The two parcels could not avoid pasturing in common, because they were shut up in one inclosure: but they had different spots for rest during night; nor was it known, that a sheep ever deserted its party, or even changed its resting-place. In the two species last mentioned, I find not that there is any notion of punishment; nor does it appear to be necessary: the leader pretends to nothing but precedence, which is never disputed. I blush to present these imperfect hints, the fruit of casual observation, not of intentional enquiry: but I am glad to blow the trumpet, in order to raise curiosity in others: if the subject be prosecuted by men of taste and enquiry, many final causes, I am persuaded, will be discovered, tending more and more to display the wisdom and goodness of Providence. But what I have chiefly in view at present is, to observe, that government among brute animals, however simple, appears to be perfect in its kind; and adapted with great propriety to their nature. Factions in the state are unknown: no enmity between individuals, no treachery, no deceit, nor any other of those vices that infest the human race. In a word, they appear to be perfectly well fitted for that kind of society to which they are prompted by their nature, and for being happy in it.

Storing up the foregoing observations till there be occasion for them, we proceed to the social nature of man. That men are endued with an appetite for society, will be vouched by the concurring testimony of all men, each vouching for himself. There is accordingly no instance of people living in a solitary state, where the appetite is not obstructed by some potent obstacle. The inhabitants of that part of New Holland which Dampier saw, live in society, tho' less advanced above brutes than any other known savages; and so intimate is their society, that they gather their food, and eat, in common. The inhabitants of the Canary islands
lived

lived in the same manner, when first seen by Europeans, which was in the fourteenth century; and the savages mentioned by Condamine, drawn by a Jesuit from the woods to settle on the banks of the Oroonoko, must originally have been united in some kind of society, as they had a common language. In a word, that man hath an appetite for food, is not more certain, than that he hath an appetite for society. And here I have occasion to apply one of the observations made above. Abstracting altogether from the pleasure we have in society, similar to what we have in eating; evident it is, that to no animal is society more necessary than to man, whether for food or for defence. In society, he is chief of the terrestrial creation; in a solitary state, the most helpless and forlorn. Thus the first question suggested above, viz. To what end was a social appetite bestow'd on man, has received an answer, which I flatter myself will give satisfaction.

The next question is, Whether the appetite be limited, as among other animals, to a society of moderate extent; or whether it prompt an association with the whole species. That the appetite is limited, will be evident from history. Men, as far back as they can be traced, have been divided into small tribes or societies. Most of these, it is true, have in later times been united into large states: such revolutions however have been brought about, not by an appetite for a more extensive society, but by conquest, or by the junction of small tribes for defence against the more powerful. A society may indeed be too small for complete gratification of the appetite; and the appetite thus cramped welcomes every person into the society till it have sufficient scope: the Romans, a diminutive tribe originally, were fond to associate even with their enemies after a victory. But, on the other hand, a society may be too large for complete gratification. An extensive empire is an object too bulky: national affection is too much diffused; and the mind is not at ease till it find a more contracted society,

society, corresponding to the moderation of its appetite. Hence the numerous orders, associations, fraternities, and divisions, that spring up in every great state. The ever-during Blues and Greens in the Roman empire, and Guelphs and Gibelines in Italy, could not have long subsisted after the cause of their enmity was at an end, but for a tendency in the members of a great state to contract their social connections *. Initiations among the ancients were probably owing to the same cause; as also associations of artificers among the moderns, pretending mystery and secrecy, and excluding all strangers. Of such associations or brotherhoods, the free masons excepted, there is scarce now a vestige remaining.

We find now, after an accurate scrutiny, that the social appetite in man comprehends not the whole species, but a part only; and commonly a small part, precisely as in other animals. Here another final cause starts up, no less remarkable than that explain'd above. An appetite to associate with the whole species, would form states so unwieldy by numbers, as to be incapable of any government. Our appetite is wisely confined within such limits as to form states of moderate extent, which of all are the best fitted for good government: and we shall see afterward, that they are also the best fitted for improving the human powers, and for enervating every manly virtue. Hence an instructive lesson, That a great empire is ill suited to human nature, and that a great conqueror is in more respects than one an enemy to mankind.

The limiting our social appetite within moderate bounds, suggests another final cause. An appetite to associate with the whole species, would collect into one society all who are not separated from each other by wide seas and inaccessible mountains; and consequently

* The never-ceasing factions in Britain proceed, not from a society too much extended, but from love of power and of wealth, to restrain which there is no sufficient authority in a free government.

would distribute mankind into a very few societies, consisting of such multitudes as to reduce national affection to a mere shadow. Nature hath wisely limited the appetite in proportion to our mental capacity. Our relations, our friends, and our other connections, open an extensive field for the exercise of affection: nay, our country in general, if not too extensive, would alone be sufficient to engross our whole affection. But that beautiful speculation falls more properly under the principles of morality; and there it shall not be overlooked.

What comes next in order, is to examine how we stand affected to those who are not of our tribe or society. I pave the way to this examination, by taking up man naked at his entrance into life. An infant at first has no feeling but bodily pain; and it is familiarized with its nurse, its parents, and perhaps with others, before it is susceptible of any passion. All weak animals are endowed with a principle of fear, which prompts them to shun danger; and fear, the first passion discovered in an infant, is raised by every new face: the infant shrinks and hides itself in the bosom of its nurse * (a). Thus every stranger is an object of fear to an infant; and consequently of aversion, which is generated by fear. Fear lessens gradually as our circle of acquaintance enlarges, especially in those who rely on bodily strength. Nothing tends more effectually to dissipate fear, than consciousness of security in the social state: in solitude, no animal is more timid than man; in society, none more bold. But remark, that aversion may subsist after fear is gone: it is propagated from parents to their children through an endless succession; and is infectious like a disease. Thus enmity is kept up between tribes, without any particular

* In this respect the human race differs widely from that of dogs: a puppy, the first time it sees a man, runs to him, licks his hand, and plays about his feet.

(a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 441. edit. 5.

cause. A neighbouring tribe, constantly in our sight, and capable to hurt us, is the object of our strongest aversion: it lessens in proportion to distance; and terminates in absolute indifference with respect to very distant tribes. Upon the whole, it appears, that the nature of man with respect to those of his own kind is resolvable into the following particulars. First, Affection for our private connections, and for our country in general. Second, Aversion to neighbours who are strangers to us, and to neighbouring tribes in general. Third, Indifference with respect to all others.

As I neither hope nor wish, that the nature of man, as above delineated, be taken upon my authority, I propose to verify it by clear and substantial facts. But to avoid the multiplying instances unnecessarily, I shall confine myself to such as concern the aversion that neighbouring tribes have to each other; taking it for granted, that private affection, and love to our country, are what no person doubts of. I begin with examples of rude nations, where nature is left to itself, without culture. The inhabitants of Greenland, good-natured and inoffensive, have not even words for expressing anger or envy: stealing among themselves is abhorred; and a young woman guilty of that crime, has no chance for a husband. At the same time, they are faithless and cruel to those who come among them: they consider the rest of mankind as a different race, with whom they reject all society. The morality of the inhabitants of New Zealand is not more refined. Writers differ about the inhabitants of the Marian or Ladrone islands: Magellan, and other voyagers, say, that they are addicted to thieving; and their testimony occasioned these islands to be called *Ladrones*. Pere le Gobien, on the contrary, says, that, far from being addicted to thieving, they leave every thing open, having no distrust one of another. These accounts differ in appearance, not in reality. Magellan was a stranger; and he talks of stealing
from

from him and from his companions. Father Gobien lived long among them, and talks of their fidelity to each other. Plan Carpin, who visited Tartary in the year 1246, observes of the Tartars, that, tho' full of veracity to their neighbours, they thought themselves not bound to speak truth to strangers. The Greeks anciently were held to be pirates: but not properly; for they committed depredations upon strangers only. Cæsar, speaking of the Germans (a), says, "*Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam quæ extra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt* *." This was precisely the case of our highlanders, till they were brought under due subjection after the rebellion 1745. Bougainville observes, that the inhabitants of Otaheite, named by the English *King George's island*, made no difficulty of stealing from his people; and yet never steal among themselves, having neither locks nor bars in their houses. The people of Benin in Negroland are good-natured, gentle, and civilized; and so generous, that if they receive a present, they are not at ease till they return it double. They have unbounded confidence in their own people; but are jealous of strangers, tho' they politely hide their jealousy. Russian peasants think it a greater sin to eat meat in Lent, than to murder one of another country. Among the Koriacs, bordering on Kamskatka, murder within the tribe is severely punished; but to murder a stranger is not minded. While Rome continued a small state, neighbour and enemy were expressed by the same word (b). In England of old, a foreigner was not admitted to be a witness. Hence it is, that in ancient history, we read of wars without intermission among small

* "They hold it not infamous to rob without the bounds of their canton."

(a) Lib. 6. c. 23. de bello Gallico.

(b) Hostis.

states in close neighbourhood. It was so in Greece; it was so in Italy during the infancy of the Roman republic; it was so in Gaul, when Cæsar commenced hostilities against that country (a); and it was so all the world over. Many islands in the South sea, and in other remote parts, have been discovered by Europeans; who commonly found the natives with arms in their hands, resolute to prevent the strangers from landing. Orellana, lieutenant to Gonzales Pizarro, was the first European who sailed down the river Amazon to the sea. In his passage, he was continually assaulted with arrows from the banks of the river; and some even ventured to attack him in their canoes.

Nor does such aversion wear away even among polished people. An ingenious writer (b) remarks, that almost every nation hate their neighbours, without knowing why. I once heard a Frenchman swear, says that writer, that he hated the English, *parce qu'ils versent du beurre fondu sur leur veau roti* *. The populace of Portugal have to this day an uncommon aversion to strangers: even those of Lisbon, tho' a trading town frequented by many different nations, must not be excepted. Travellers report, that the people of the duchy of Milan, remarkable for good-nature, are the only Italians who are not hated by their neighbours. The Piedmontese and Genoese have an aversion to each other, and agree only in their antipathy to the Tuscans. The Tuscans dislike the Venetians; and the Romans abound not with good-will to the Tuscans, Venetians, or Neapolitans. Very different is the case with respect to distant nations: instead of being objects of aversion,

* "Because they pour melted butter upon their roast veal."

(a) Lib. 6. c. 15. de bello Gallico.

(b) Baretti.

their manners, customs, and singularities, amuse us greatly *.

Infants differ from each other in aversion to strangers; some being extremely shy, others less so; and the like difference is observable in whole tribes. The people of Milan cannot have any aversion to their neighbours, when they are such favourites of all around them. The inhabitants of some South-sea islands, mentioned above (a), appear to have little or no aversion to strangers. But that is a rare instance, and has scarce a parallel in any other part of the globe. It holds also true, that nations the most remarkable for patriotism, are equally remarkable for aversion to strangers. The Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, were equally remarkable for both. Patriotism, a vigorous principle among the English, makes them extremely averse to naturalize foreigners. The inhabitants of New Zealand, both men and women, appear to be of a mild and gentle disposition; they treat one another with affection: but are implacable to their enemies, and never give quarter. It is even customary among them to eat the flesh of their enemies.

To a person of humanity, the scene here exhibited is far from being agreeable. Man, it may be thought, is of all animals the most barbarous; for even animals of prey are innoxious with respect to their own kind †. Aversion to strangers makes a branch
of

* Voltaire, (Universal History, ch. 40.), observing, rightly, that jealousy among petty princes is productive of more crimes than among great monarchs, gives a very unsatisfactory reason, viz. That having little force, they must employ fraud, poison, and other secret crimes; not adverting, that power may be equally distributed among small princes as well as among great. It is antipathy that instigates such crimes, which is always the most violent among the nearest neighbours.

(a) Book 1. sketch 1.

† "Denique cætera animantia in suo genere probe degunt: congregari videmus,

3 A 2

" et

of our nature: it exists among individuals in private life; it flames high between neighbouring tribes; and is visible even in infancy. Can such perversity of disposition promote any good end? This question, which pierces deep into human nature, is reserved to close the present sketch.

From the foregoing deduction, universal benevolence, inculcated by several writers as a moral duty, is discovered to be erroneous. Our appetite for society is limited, and our duty must be limited in proportion. But of this more directly when the principles of morality are taken under consideration.

We are taught by the great Newton, that attraction and repulsion in matter, are, by alteration of circumstances, converted one into the other. This holds also in affection and aversion, which may be termed, not improperly, *mental attraction* and *repulsion*. Two nations, originally strangers to each other, may, by commerce, or other favourable circumstance, become so well acquainted, as to change from aversion to affection. The opposite manners of a capital and of a country-town, afford a good illustration. In the latter, people, occupied with their domestic concerns, are in a manner strangers to each other: a degree of aversion prevails, which gives birth to envy and detraction. In the former, a court, with public amusements, promote general acquaintance: repulsion yields to attraction, and people become fond to associate with

“ et stare contra dissimilia: leonum feritas inter se non dimicat: serpentum mor-
 “ sus non petit serpentes; ne maris quidem belluæ ac pisces, nisi in diversa gene-
 “ ra, sæviunt. At, Hercule, homini plurima ex homine sunt mala.” *Pliny, lib. 7. Proæmium.* [*In English thus: “ For other animals live at peace with those of
 “ their species. They gather themselves in troops, and unite against the common
 “ enemy. The ferocious lion fights not against his species: the poisonous serpent
 “ is harmless to his kind: the monsters of the sea prey but on those fishes that dif-
 “ fer from them in nature: man alone of animals is foe to man!”*]

their

their equals. The union of two tribes into one, is another circumstance that converts repulsion into attraction. Such conversion, however, is far from being instantaneous; witness the different small states of Spain, which were not united in affection for many years after they were united under one monarch; and this was also the case of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. In some circumstances the conversion is instantaneous; as where a stranger becomes an object of pity or of gratitude. Many low persons in Britain contributed cheerfully for maintaining some French seamen, made prisoners at the commencement of the late war. It is no less instantaneous, when strangers, relying on our humanity, trust themselves in our hands. Among the ancients, it was hospitality to strangers only that produced mutual affection and gratitude: Glaucus and Diomedæ were of different countries. Hospitality to strangers, is a pregnant symptom of improving manners. Cæsar, speaking of the Germans (a), says, "Hospites violare, fas non putant: qui, quæque de causa, ad eos venerunt, ab injuria prohibent, sanctosque habent; iis omnium domus patent, victusque communicatur *." The ancient Spaniards were fond of war, and cruel to their enemies; but in peace, they passed their time in singing and dancing, and were remarkably hospitable to the strangers who came among them. It shews great refinement in the Celtæ, that the killing a stranger was capital, when the killing a citizen was banishment only (b). The

* "They hold it sacrilege to injure a stranger. They protect from outrage, and venerate those who come among them: their houses are open to them, and they are welcome to their tables."

(a) Lib. 6. c. 23. de bello Gallico.

(b) Nicolaus Damascenus.

Swedes and Goths were eminently hospitable to strangers; as indeed were all the northern nations of Europe (a). The negroes of Fouli, are celebrated by travellers as extremely kind to strangers. The native Brazilians are singularly hospitable. A stranger no sooner arrives among them than he is surrounded with women, who wash his feet, and set before him to eat the best things they have. If a stranger have occasion to go more than once to the same village, the person whose guest he was takes it much amiss if he think of changing his lodging.

There are causes that for a time suspend enmity between neighbouring states. The small states of Greece, among whom war had no end, frequently smothered their enmity to join against the formidable monarch of Persia. There are also causes that suspend for a time all animosity between factions in the same state. The endless factions in Britain about power and pre-eminence, not a little disagreeable during peace, are laid asleep during a foreign war.

On the other hand, attraction is converted into repulsion by various causes. One is, the splitting a great monarchy into many small states; of which the Assyrian, the Persian, the Roman, and the Saracen empires, are instances. The *amor patriæ*, faint in an extensive monarchy, readily yields to aversion, operating between two neighbouring states, less extensive. This is observable between neighbouring colonies, even of the same nation: the English colonies in North America, tho' they retain some affection for their mother-country, have contracted an aversion to each other. And happy for them is such aversion, if it prevent their uniting in order to acquire independency: wars without end would be the inevitable consequence, as among small states in close neighbourhood.

(a) Saxo Grammaticus. Crantz,

Hitherto the road has been smooth, without obstruction. But we have not yet finished our journey; and the remaining question, viz. How far are men fitted by their nature for being useful members of civil society, and for being happy in it, will, I suspect, lead into a road neither smooth nor free from obstruction. The social branch of human nature would be woefully imperfect, if man had an appetite for society without being fitted for that state: the appetite, instead of tending to a good end, would be his bane. And yet, whether he be or be not fitted for society, seems doubtful. In examining the conduct of man, he is to us a disgusting object in his aversion to those of a different tribe; and I violently suspect, that in his behaviour even to those of his own tribe, he will scarce be found an agreeable object. That he is fitted by nature for being an useful member of a social state, and for being happy in it, appears from facts many and various. I instance first, several corresponding principles or propensities, that cannot be exerted nor gratified but in society, viz. the propensities of veracity, and of relying on human testimony; appetite for knowledge, and desire to communicate knowledge; anxiety in distress to be pitied, and sympathy with the distressed; appetite for praise, and inclination to praise the deserving*. Such corresponding propensities, not only qualify men for the social state as far as their influence reaches, but attract them sweetly into society for the sake of gratification, and make them happy in it. But this is not all, nor indeed the greater part. Do not benevolence, compassion, magnanimity, heroism, and the whole train of social affections, demonstrate our fitness for society, and our happiness in it? And justice, above all other virtues, promotes peace and con-

* Appetite for praise is inherent even in savages: witness those of North America, who upon that account are fond of dress. I mean the men; for the women are such miserable slaves as to have no spirit for ornament.

cord in that state. Nor ought the faculty of speech to be overlooked, which in an eminent degree qualifies man for society, and is a plentiful source of enjoyment in it.

On the other hand, there are facts, not fewer in number, nor less various, tending to evince, that man is ill fitted for society, and that there is little happiness for him in it. What can be more averse to concord in society than dissocial passions? and yet these prevail among men. Are not envy, malice, revenge, treachery, deceit, avarice, ambition, &c. &c. noxious weeds that poison society? We meet every where persons bent on the destruction of others, evincing that man has no enemies more formidable than of his own kind, and of his own tribe. Are not discord and feuds the chief articles in the history of every state, factions violently bent against each other, and frequently breaking out into civil wars? Appian's history of the civil wars of Rome exhibits a horrid scene of massacres, proscriptions, and forfeitures; the leaders sacrificing their firmest friends, for liberty to suck the blood of their enemies; as if to shed human blood were the ruling passion of man. But the Romans were far from being singular: the polite Greeks, commonly so characterized, were still more brutal and bloody. The following passage is copied from a celebrated author (a). "Not to mention Dionysius the elder, who is computed to have butchered in cold blood above 10,000 of his fellow-citizens; nor Agathocles, Nabis, and others, still more bloody than he; the transactions even in free governments were extremely violent and destructive. At Athens, the thirty tyrants, and the nobles, in a twelvemonth, murdered without trial about 1200 of the people, and banished above the half of the citizens that remained. In Argos, near the same time, the people killed 1200 of the nobles, and afterward their own de-

(a) Essay of the populosness of ancient nations, by David Hume, Esq;

"magogues,

"magogues, because they had refused to carry their prosecutions farther. The people also in Corcyra killed 1500 of the nobles, and banished 1000. These numbers will appear the more surprising, if we consider the extreme smallness of those states. But all ancient history is full of such instances." Upon a revolution in the Saracen empire ann. 750, where the Ommyan family was expelled by that of the Abassians, Abdolah, chief of the latter, published an act of oblivion to the former, on condition of their taking an oath of allegiance to him. The Ommyans, embracing the condition, were in appearance graciously received. But in preparing to take the oath, they were knocked down every one of them by the Emperor's guards. And fully to glut the monster's cruelty, these princes, still alive, were laid close together, and covered with boards and carpets; upon which Abdolah feasted his officers, "in order," said he, "that we may be exhilarated with the dying groans of the Ommyans." During the vigour of the feudal system, when every man was a soldier who aspired to be a gentleman, justice was no defence against power, nor humanity against bloody resentment. Stormy passions raged every where with unrelenting fury; every place a chaos of confusion and distress. No man was secure but in his castle; and to venture abroad unless well armed, and well attended, would have been an act of high temerity. So little intercourse was there among the French in the tenth century, that an abbot of Clugni, invited by the Count of Paris to bring some monks to the abbey of St Maur, near that city, excused himself for declining a journey through a strange and unknown country. In the history of Scotland, during the minority of James II. we find nothing but barbarous and cruel manners, depredations, burning of houses, bloodshed and massacre without end. Pitfeottie says, that oppression, theft, sacrilege, ravishing of women, were but a *dalliance*. How similar to beasts of prey set loose against each other in the Roman circus!

Men are prone to split into parties for the very slightest causes; and when a cause is wanting, parties are often formed upon words merely. Whig and Tory subsisted long in England, upon no better foundation. The Tories professed passive obedience; but declared, that they would not be slaves. The Whigs professed resistance; but declared it unlawful to resist, unless to prevent the being made slaves. Had these parties been disposed to unite, they soon would have discovered, that they differed in words only. The same observation is applicable to many religious disputes. One sect maintains, that we are saved by faith alone; another, that good works are necessary. The difference lies merely in words. The first acknowledges, that if a man commit sin, he cannot have faith; and consequently under faith are comprehended good works. The other acknowledges, that good works imply good intention, or, in other words, faith; and consequently, under good works faith is comprehended (a). The following instance, solemnly ludicrous, is of parties formed merely from an inclination to differ, without any cause real or verbal. No people were less interested in the late war between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia than the citizens of Ravenna. They however split into two parties, which renounced all society with each other. After the battle of Rossbach, a leading partyman withdrew for a month, without once showing his face in public. But our catalogue is not yet complete. Differences concerning civil matters make no figure compared with what concern religion. It is lamentable to observe, that religious sects resemble neighbouring states; the nearer they are to one another, the greater is their rancour and animosity. But as all histories are full of the cruelty and desolation occasioned by differences in religious tenets, I cannot bear to dwell longer upon such horrid scenes.

(a) See Knox's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, p. 13.

What conclusion are we to draw from the foregoing facts, so inconsistent in appearance with each other? I am utterly at a loss to reconcile them, otherwise than by holding man to be a compound of principles and passions, some social, some dissocial. Opposite principles or passions cannot at the same instant be exerted upon the same object (*a*); but they may be exerted at the same instant upon different objects, and at different times upon the same object. This observation serves indeed to explain a seeming inconsistency in our nature, as being at one time highly social, and at another time no less dissocial: but it affords not a solution to the question, Whether, upon the whole, men be fitted for society, and for being happy in it. In order to a solution, we find it necessary to take a second view of the natural history of man.

In a nascent society, where men hunt and fish in common, where there is plenty of game, and where the sense of property is faint, mutual affection prevails, because there is no cause of discord; and dissocial passions find sufficient vent against neighbouring tribes. Such is the condition of the North-American savages, who continue hunters and fishers to this day; and such is the condition of all brute animals that live in society, as mentioned above. The island Otaheite is divided into many small cantons, having each a chief of its own. These cantons never make war on each other, tho' they are frequently at war with the inhabitants of neighbouring islands. The inhabitants of the new Philippine islands, if Father Gobien be credited, are better fitted for society than any other known nation. Sweetness of temper, and love to do good, form their character. They never commit acts of violence: war they have no notion of; and it is a proverb among them, That a man never puts a man to death. Plato places the seat of justice and of happiness among the first men; and a-

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 143. edit. 5.

among them existed the golden age, if it ever did exist. But when a nation, becoming populous, begins with rearing flocks and herds, proceeds to appropriate land, and is not satisfied without matters of luxury over and above; selfishness and pride gain ground, and become ruling and unruly passions. Causes of discord multiply, vent is given to avarice and resentment; and among a people not yet perfectly submissive to government, dissocial passions rage, and threaten a total dissolution of society: nothing indeed suspends the impending blow, but the unwearied, tho' silent, operation of the social appetite. Such was the condition of the Greeks at a certain period of their progress, as mentioned above; and such was the condition of Europe, and of France in particular, during the anarchy of the feudal system, when all was discord, blood, and rapine. In general, where-ever avarice and disorderly passions bear rule, I boldly pronounce, that men are ill qualified for society.

Providence extracts order out of confusion. Men, in a society so uncomfortable, are taught by dire experience, that they must either renounce society, or qualify themselves for it — the choice is easy, but how difficult the practice! After infinite struggles, appetite for society prevailed; and time, that universal conqueror, perfected men in the art of subduing their passions, or of dissembling them. Finding now no enjoyment but in society, we are solicitous about the good-will of others; and we adhere to justice and good manners: disorderly passions are suppressed, kindly affections encouraged, and men become less unfit for society than formerly.

But is the progress of men toward the perfection of society to stop here? are lust of power and of property to continue for ever leading principles? are envy, revenge, treachery, deceit, never to have an end? "How devoutly to be wished, (it will be said), that all men
"were upright and honest; and that all of the same nation were
"united

"united like a single family in concord and mutual affection! Here indeed would be perpetual sunshine, a golden age, a state approaching to that of good men made perfect in heavenly mansions." Beware of indulging such pleasing dreams. The system of Providence differs widely from our wishes; and shall ignorant man venture to arraign Providence? Are we qualified to judge of the whole, when but so small a part is visible? It is our duty to believe, that were the whole visible, it would appear beautiful. We are not however reduced to an act of pure faith: a glimmering light, breaking in, makes it at least doubtful, whether upon the whole it be not really better for us to be as we are. Let us follow that glimmering light to see where it will lead us.

I begin with observing, that tho' in our present condition we suffer much distress from selfish and dissocial passions, yet custom renders our distresses familiar, and hardens us not only to bear but to brave them. Strict adherence to the rules of justice would indeed secure our persons and our property: robbery and murder would vanish, and locks and guns be heard of no more. So far excellent, were no new evils to come in their place: but the void must be filled, and mental distresses would break in of various kinds, such particularly as proceed from refined delicacy and nice sensibility of honour, little regarded while we are exposed to dangers more alarming. And whether the change would be much to our advantage, appears doubtful: pain as well as pleasure is measured by comparison; and the slightest pain, such for example as arises from a transgression of civility or good-breeding, will overwhelm a person who has never felt any more severe. At any rate, natural evils will remain; and that extreme delicacy and softness of temper which are produced by eternal peace and concord, would render such evils unsupportable: the slight inconveniencies of a rough road, bad weather, or homely fare, would become serious evils, and afflict the traveller past enduring. The French,

French, among whom society has obtained a more refined polish than in any other nation, have become so soft and delicate as to lose all fortitude in distress. They cannot bear even a representation of severe affliction in a tragedy: an English audience would fall asleep at the slight distresses that make a deep impression in the French theatre.

But now supposing, that a scrupulous adherence to the rules of morality would be a real improvement in society; yet to me it appears evident, that men as individuals would suffer more by that improvement, than they would gain as members of society. In order to preserve the rules of justice untainted, and to maintain perfect concord and affection among men, all dissocial and selfish passions must necessarily be extirpated, or brought under absolute subjection. Attend to the consequences: they deserve our most sober attention. Agitation is requisite to the mind as well as to the body: a man engaged in a brisk pursuit, whether of business or of pleasure, is in his element, and in high spirits: but when no object is in view to be attained or to be avoided, his spirits flag, and he sinks into languor and despondence. To prevent a condition so baneful to man, he is provided with many passions, which impel him to action without intermission, and enervate both mind and body. But upon the present supposition, scarce any motive to action would remain; and man, reduced to a lethargic state, would rival no being above an oyster or a sensitive plant.

Nor ought it to be overlooked, that an uniform life of peace, tranquillity, and security, would not be long relished. Constant repetition of the same pleasures, would render even a golden age tasteless, like an Italian sky during a long summer. Nature has for wise purposes impressed upon us a taste for variety (a); and without it, life would be altogether insipid. Paragui, when govern-

(a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 320. edit. 5.

ed by the Jesuits, affords a fine illustration. It was divided into parishes, in each of which a Jesuit presided as king, priest, and prophet. The natives were not suffered to have any property, but laboured incessantly for their daily bread, which was delivered to them out of a public magazine. The men were employ'd in agriculture, the women in spinning; and certain precise hours were allotted for labour, for food, for prayer, and for sleep *. They sunk into such a listless state of mind, as to have no regret at dying when attacked by disease or by old age. Such was their indifference about what might befall them, that tho' they adored the Jesuits, yet they made no opposition, when the fathers were, ann. 1767, attacked by the Spaniards, and their famous republic demolished. The monkish life is contradictory to the nature of man: the languor of that state is what in all probability tempts many a monk and nun, to find occupation even at the expence of virtue. The life of the Maltese knights is far from being agreeable, now that their knight-errantry against the Turks has subsided. While they reside in the island, a strict uniformity in their manner of living is horridly irksome. Absence is their only relief, when they can obtain permission. There will not at last remain a knight in the island, except such as by office are tied to attendance.

I proceed to another consideration. Familiarity with danger is necessary to eradicate our natural timidity; and so deeply rooted is that principle, that familiarity with danger of one sort, does not harden us with respect to any other sort. A foldier, bold as a lion in the field, is

* Beside Paraguai tea, for which there is great demand in Peru, cotton, tobacco, and sugar-canes, were cultivated in Paraguai, and the product was stored up in magazines. No Indian durst keep in his house so much as an ounce of any of these commodities, under pain of receiving twelve lashes in honour of the twelve apostles, beside fasting three days in the house of correction. The fathers seldom inflicted a capital punishment, because it deprived them of a profitable slave.

faint-hearted

faint-hearted at sea, like a child; and a seaman, who braves the winds and waves, trembles when mounted on a horse of spirit. Courage does not superabound at present, even in the midst of dangers and unforeseen accidents: sedentary manufacturers, who seldom are in the way of harm, are remarkably pusillanimous. What would men be in the supposed condition of universal peace, concord, and security? they would rival a hare or a mouse in timidity. Farewell, upon that supposition, to courage, magnanimity, heroism, and to every passion that ennobles human nature! There may perhaps be men, who, hugging themselves in being secure against harm, would not be altogether averse to such degeneracy. But if such men there be, I pray them only to reflect, that in the progress from infancy to maturity, all nations do not ripen equally. One nation may have arrived at the supposed perfection of society, before another has advanced much beyond the savage state. What security hath the former against the latter? Precisely the same that timid sheep have against hungry wolves.

I shall finish with one other effect of the supposed perfection of society, more degrading, if possible, than any mentioned. Exercise, as observed above, is not less essential to the mind than to the body. The reasoning faculty, for example, without constant and varied exercise, will remain weak and undistinguishing to the end of life. By what means doth a man acquire prudence and foresight, but by practice? It is precisely here as in the body: deprive a child of motion, and it will never acquire any strength of limbs. The many difficulties that men encounter, and their various objects of pursuit, rouse the understanding, and set the reasoning faculty at work for means to accomplish desire. The mind, by continual exercise, ripens to its perfection; and, by the same means, is preserved in vigour. It would have no such exercise in the supposed perfection of society; where there would be little to be desired, and less to be dreaded: our mental faculties
would

would for ever lie dormant; and we should remain for ever ignorant that we have such faculties. The people of Paragui are described as mere children in understanding. What wonder, considering their condition under Jesuit government, without ambition, without property, without fear of want, and without desires? The wants of those who inhabit the torrid zone are easily supplied: they need no cloathing, scarce any habitation; and fruits, which ripen there to perfection, give them food without labouring for it. Need we any other cause for their inferiority of understanding, compared with the inhabitants of other climates, where the mind, as well as body, are constantly at work for procuring necessaries *?

That

* The blessings of ease and inaction are most poetically display'd in the following description. "O felix Lapo, qui in ultimo angulo mundi sic bene lates, contentus et innocens. Tu nec times annonæ charitatem, nec Martis prælia, quæ ad tuas oras pervenire nequeunt, sed florentissimas Europæ provincias et urbes, unico momento, sæpe dejiciunt et delent. Tu dormis hic sub tua pelle, ab omnibus curis, contentioneibus, rixis, liber, ignorans quid sit invidia. Tu nulla nosti discrimina, nisi tonantis Jovis fulmina. Tu ducis innocentissimos tuos annos ultra centenarium numerum, cum facili senectute et summa sanitate. Te latent myriades morborum nobis Europæis communes. Tu vivis in sylvis, avis instar, nec sementem facis, nec metis; tamen alit te Deus optimus optime." *Linneus, Flora Lapponica.* — [In English thus: "O happy Laplander, who, on the utmost verge of habitable earth, thus livest obscure in rest, content, and innocence. Thou fearest not the scanty crop, nor ravages of war; and those calamities which waste whole provinces and towns, can ne'er attain thy peaceful shores. Wrapt in thy covering of fur, thou canst securely sleep; a stranger to each tumultuous care; unenvying and unenvied. Thou fearest no danger, but from the thunder of heaven. Thy harmless days slide on in innocence, beyond the period of a century. Thy health is firm; and thy declining age is tranquil. Millions of diseases which ravage the rest of the world, have never reached thy happy climate. Thou livest as the birds of the wood, thou carest not to sow nor reap, for bounteous Providence has supplied thee in all thy wants."

That curious writer Mandevil, who is always entertaining, if he does not always instruct, exults in maintaining a proposition seemingly paradoxical, That private vices are public benefits. He proves indeed, most triumphantly, that theft produced locks and bars, and that war produced swords and guns. But what would have been his triumph, had he discovered, that selfish and dissocial vices promote the most elevated virtues, and that if such vices were eradicated, man would be a groveling and contemptible being?

How rashly do men judge of the conduct of Providence! So flattering to the imagination is a golden age, a life of perpetual sun-shine, as to have been a favourite topic among poets, ancient and modern. Impressed with the felicity of such a state, it is not easy to be satisfied with our condition in this life. Such a jumble of good and ill, malice mixed with benevolence, friendship alloy'd with fraud, peace with alarms of war, and frequent bloody wars,—can we avoid concluding, that in this unhappy world chance prevails more than wisdom? What better cause can freethinkers wish for declaiming against Providence, while men better disposed, sigh inwardly, and must be silent *? But behold

— So eloquent a panegyrist upon the Lapland life, would make a capital figure upon an oyster. No creature is freer from want, no creature freer from war, and probably no creature is freer from fear; which, alas! is not the case of the Laplander.

* L'homme qui ne peut que par le nombre, qui n'est fort que par sa réunion, qui n'est heureux que par la paix, a la fureur de s'armer pour son malheur et de combattre pour sa ruine. Excité par l'insatiable avidité, aveuglé par l'ambition encore plus insatiable, il renonce aux sentiments d'humanité, cherche à s'entre-détruire, se détruit en effet; et après ces jours de sang et de carnage, lorsque la fumée de la gloire s'est dissipée, il voit d'un oeil triste la terre dévastée, les arts ensevelies,

behold the blindness of men with respect to the dispensations of Providence! A golden age would to man be more poisonous than

fevelles, les nations dispersées, les peuples affoiblis, son propre bonheur ruiné, et sa puissance réelle anéantie.

"Grand Dieu! dont la seule présence soutient la nature et maintient l'harmonie des loix de l'univers; Vous, qui du trône immobile de l'empirée, voyez rouler sous vos pieds toutes les sphères célestes sans choc et sans confusion; qui du sein du repos, reproduisez à chaque instant leurs mouvemens immenses, et seul régiez dans une paix profonde ce nombre infini de cieux et de mondes; rendez, rendez enfin le calme à la terre agitée! Qu'elle soit dans le silence! Qu'à votre voix la discorde et la guerre cessent de faire retenter leurs clameurs orgueilleuses! Dieu de bonté, auteur de tous les êtres, vos regards paternels embrassent tous les objets de la création: mais l'homme est votre être de choix; vous avez éclairé son ame d'un rayon de votre lumière immortelle; comblez vos bienfaits en pénétrant son cœur d'un trait de votre amour: ce sentiment divin se répandant par-tout, réunira les natures ennemies; l'homme ne craindra plus l'aspect de l'homme, le fer homicide n'armera plus sa main; le feu dévorant de la guerre ne fera plus tarir la source des générations; l'espèce humaine maintenant affoiblie, mutilée, moissonnée dans sa fleur, germes de nouveau et se multipliera sans nombre; la nature accablée sous le poids de fléaux, stérile, abandonnée, reprendra bientôt avec une nouvelle vie son ancienne fécondité; et nous, Dieu Bienfaiteur, nous la seconderons, nous la cultiverons, nous l'observerons sans cesse pour vous offrir à chaque instant un nouveau tribut de reconnaissance et d'admiration." *Buffon Histoire Naturelle, vol. 9. 8vo. edit.*

[In English thus: "Man who is powerful only by numbers, whose strength consists in the union of forces, and whose happiness is to be found alone in a state of peace, has yet the madness to take arms for his own misery, and fight to the ruin of his species. Urged on by insatiable avarice, and blinded by ambition still more insatiable, he banishes from his breast every sentiment of humanity, and, eager for the destruction of his fellow-creatures, in effect destroys himself. When the days of blood and carnage are past, when the vapour of glory is dissipated, he looks around with a sorrowful eye upon the desolated earth, he sees the arts extinct, the nations dispersed, and population dead: his happiness is ruined, and his power is reduced to nothing.

"Great God! whose sole presence sustains the creative power, and rules the

than Pandora's box; a gift, sweet in the mouth, but bitter, bitter, in the stomach. Let us then forbear repining; for the subject before us must afford conviction, if any thing can, that our best course is to submit humbly to whatever befalls, and to rest satisfied, that the world is governed by wisdom, not by chance. What can be expected of barbarians, but utter ignorance of Providence, and of divine government? But as men ripen in the knowledge of causes and effects, the benevolence as well as wisdom of a superintending Being become more and more apparent. How pleasant is that observation! Beautiful final causes without

“ harmony of nature's laws! who from thy permanent celestial throne beholdest
 “ the motion of the nether spheres, all-perfect in their course which knows no
 “ change; who broughtest from out the womb of rest by endless reproduction
 “ those never-ceasing movements; who rulest in peace the infinity of worlds: E-
 “ ternal God! vouchsafe at length to send a portion of that heavenly peace to
 “ calm the agitated earth. Let every tumult cease: at thy celestial voice, no more
 “ be heard around the proud and clamorous shouts of war and discord. All-
 “ bounteous Creator! Author of being! each object of thy works partakes of thy
 “ paternal care; but chief of all, thy chosen creature man. Thou hast bestowed
 “ on him a ray of thine immortal light: O deign to crown that gift, by penetrating
 “ his heart with a portion of thy love. Soon will that heavenly sentiment, perva-
 “ ding his nature, reconcile each warring and contradictory principle: man will
 “ no longer dread the sight of man: the murdering blade will sleep within its
 “ sheath: the fire of war will cease to dry up the springs of generation: the hu-
 “ man race, now languishing and withering in the bloom, will bud afresh, and
 “ multiply: nature, which now sinks beneath the scourge of misery, sterile and
 “ desolated, will soon renew her wasted strength, and regain her first fertility.
 “ We, O God of benevolence, we thy creatures will second the blessing. It will
 “ be ours to bestow on the earth that culture which best can aid her fruitfulness;
 “ and we will pay to thee the most acceptable of sacrifices, in endless gratitude and
 “ adoration.”

How natural is this prayer; how unnatural the state thus anxiously requested! M. Buffon's devotional fits are fervent: pity it is, that they are not better directed.

number

number have been discovered in the material as well as moral world, with respect to many particulars that once appeared dark and gloomy. Many continue to have that appearance: but with respect to these, is it too bold to maintain, that an argument from ignorance, a slender argument at any rate, is altogether insufficient in judging of divine government? How salutary is it for man, and how comfortable, to rest on the faith, that whatever is, is the best!

SKETCH

S K E T C H II.

General View of GOVERNMENT.

THE progress of government, accurately delineated, would produce a great volume: in this work there is room but for a few hints. What are the means that fit men for society, is explained above; but writers are far from being unanimous about the means that fit them for government. All agree, that submission to our governors is a duty: but they appear to be at a loss upon what foundation to rest that duty; as if it were not evident, that by our nature we are fitted for government as well as for society (a). If justice or veracity be essential to society, submission to government is no less so; and each of these equally is declared by the moral sense to be our duty. But to qualify man for government, the duty of submission alone is not sufficient: diversity of temper and of talents are also necessary; and accordingly it is so ordered by Providence, that there are never wanting in any society men who are qualified to lead, as well as men who are disposed to follow. Where a number of people convene for any purpose, some will naturally assume authority without the formality of election, and the rest will as naturally submit. A regular government, founded on laws, was probably not thought of, till people had frequently suffered by vicious governors*.

During

(a) Principles of Equity, p. 177, edit. 2.

* At first, when a certain regimen was once approved, it may be that all was permitted

During the infancy of national societies, government is extremely simple; and no less mild than simple. No individual is by nature intitled to exercise magisterial authority over his fellows; for no individual is born with any mark of pre-eminence to vouch that he has such a privilege. But nature teaches respect for men of age and experience; who accordingly take the lead in deliberating and advising; leaving execution to the young and vigorous *. War indeed cannot be carried on without a commander; but originally his authority was limited to actual war; and he returned home a private person, even when crowned with victory. The wants of men were originally so few, and so easily satisfied, as seldom to occasion a controversy among members of the same tribe. And men, finding vent for their dissocial passions against other tribes, were fond to live peaceably at home. Introduction of money made an amazing change. Wealth bestowed by fortune, or procured by rapine, made an impression on the vulgar: different ranks were recognised: the rich became imperious, and the poor mutinous. Selfishness, prevailing over social affection, stirred up every man against his neighbour; and

permitted to the wisdom and discretion of those who were to rule; till by experience this was found very inconvenient, so as the thing devised for a remedy did increase the sore which it should have cured. They saw, "that to live by one man's will, became the cause of all mens misery." This constrained them to come into laws, wherein all men might see their duty beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them. *Hooker's Eccl. Pol. l. 1. § 10.*

* Such as are acquainted with no manners but what are modern, will be puzzled to account for the great veneration paid to old age in early times. Before writing was invented, old men were the repositories of knowledge, which they acquired by experience; and young men had no access to knowledge but from them. At the siege of Troy, Nestor, who had seen three generations, was the chief adviser and director of the Greeks. But as books are now the most patent road to knowledge, to which the old and young have access, it may justly be observed, that by the invention of writing and printing, old men have lost much of their pristine importance.

men,

men, overlooking their natural enemies, gave vent to dissocial passions within their own tribe. It became necessary to strengthen the hands of the sovereign, for repressing passions inflamed by opulence, which tend to a dissolution of society. This slight view fairly accounts for the gradual progress of government from the mildest form to the most despotic. The second part of the progress is more pleasing. Men long enured to the authority of government, acquire a habit of repressing their turbulent passions; and becoming by degrees regular and orderly, they are easily restrained from doing wrong.

During the infancy of a society, punishments must be mild, because government has no sufficient authority over the minds of men to enforce what are severe. But government in time acquires authority; and when its authority is firmly rooted in the minds of the people, punishments more rigorous can be made effectual; and such punishments are necessary among a people not yet well disciplined. When men at last become regular and orderly under a steady administration, punishments become less and less necessary, and the mildest are sufficient (a). The Chinese government is extremely mild, and its punishments are in the same tone. A capital punishment is never inflicted, till the sentence be examined by a sovereign court, and approved by the Emperor. Thus government, after passing through all the intermediate degrees from extreme mildness to extreme severity, returns at last to its original temper of mildness and humanity *.

* An ingenious writer observes, that as our American settlements are now so prosperous, banishment to these settlements is scarce a punishment. He therefore proposes, that criminals be transported to Hudson's bay, or to some other uncultivated country. My doubt is, that in proportion as manners improve, the severity of punishment ought to be mitigated. Perhaps, the transportation to any of our American colonies, tho' less dreadful than formerly, may however be now a sufficient punishment for theft, or other crime of no deeper dye.

(a) Historical Law-tracts, tract 1.

S K E T C H III.

Different FORMS OF GOVERNMENT compared.

OF all governments, democracy is the most turbulent: despotism, which benumbs the mental faculties, and relaxes every spring of action, is in the opposite extreme. Mixed governments, whether monarchical or republican, stand in the middle: they promote activity, but seldom any dangerous excess.

Pure democracy, like that of Athens, Argos, and Carthage, is the very worst form of government, if we make not despotism an exception. The people, in whom resides the sovereign power, are insolent in prosperity, timid in adversity, cruel in anger, blind and prodigal in affection, and incapable of embracing steadily a prudent measure. Thucydides relates (a), that Agis with a gallant army of Spartans surrounded the army of Argos; and, tho' secure of victory, suffered them to retreat, upon solemn assurances from Thrasyllus, the Argian general, of terminating all differences in an amicable treaty. Agis, perhaps justly, was bitterly censured for suffering victory to slip out of his hands: but the Argians, dreaming of victory when the danger was over, brought their general to trial, confiscated his effects, and would have stoned him to death, had he not taken refuge in a temple. Two Athenian generals, after one naval victory, being intent on a second, deputed Theramenes to perform

(a) Lib. 5.

the last duty to their dead. A violent storm prevented Theramenes from executing the trust reposed in him; but it did not prevent the people of Athens from putting their two generals to death, as if they had neglected their duty. The fate of Socrates is a sad instance, of the changeable, as well as violent, disposition of a democratical state. He was condemned to death, for attempting innovations in the established religion: the sentence was grossly unjust; for he attempted no innovation; but only, among his friends, expressed purer notions of the Deity than were common in Greece at that time. But his funeral obsequies were scarce ended, when bitter remorse seized the people. His accusers were put to death without trial, every person banished who had contributed to the sentence pronounced against him, and his statue was erected in the most public part of the city. The great Scipio, in his camp near Utica, was surrounded with three Carthaginian armies, which waited only for day-light to fall upon him. He prevented the impending blow, by surprising them in the dead of night; which gave him a complete victory. This misfortune, for it could scarce be called bad conduct, provoked the democracy of Carthage, to pronounce sentence of death against Asdrubal their general. Great trading towns cannot flourish, if they be not faithful to their engagements, and honest in their dealings: Whence then the *fides Punica*? A democracy is in its nature rash, violent, and fluctuating; and the Carthaginians merited the reproach, not as individuals, but as a democratical state.

A commonwealth governed by the best citizens, is very different from a democracy, where the mob rules. At the same time, the solid foundation of such a commonwealth, is equality among the citizens. Inequality of riches cannot be prevented in a commercial state; but inequality of privileges may be prevented, by excluding no citizen from the opportunity of commanding as well as of obeying. The invidious distinction of Patrician and Plebeian

was

was a gross malady in the Roman republic, a perpetual source of dissension between two bodies of men, equally well born, equally rich, and equally fit for war. This ill-poised government would have put an end to the republic, had not the Plebeians prevailed, who were the more numerous. That reformation produced to Rome plenty of able men, qualified to govern whether in peace or in war.

A commonwealth is the best form of government for a small state: there is little room for inequality of rank or of property; and the people can act in a body. Monarchy is preferable for a large state, where the people, widely spread, cannot be easily collected into a body. Attica was a kingdom, while its twelve cantons were remote from each other, and but slenderly connected. Theseus, by collecting the people of figure into the city of Athens, and by a general assembly of all the cantons held there, fitted Attica to be a commonwealth.

When a nation becomes great and populous, it is ill fitted for being a commonwealth. Ambition is apt to trample upon justice; selfishness upon patriotism; and the public is sacrificed to private views. To prevent corruption from turning incurable, the only remedy is a strict rotation in office, which ought never to be dispensed with on any pretext *. By such rotation, every citizen in his turn governs and is governed: the highest office is limited as to time, and the greatest men in the state must submit to the sacred law of obeying as well as of commanding. A man long accustomed to power, is not happy in a private station: that corrupting habit is prevented by an alternate succession of public and

* A commonwealth with such a rotation may be aptly compared to a group of jets d'eau, rising one above another in beautiful order, and preserving the same order in descending: the form of the group continues invariable, but the forming parts are always changing.

private life; which is more agreeable by variety, and contributes no less to virtue than to happiness. It was that form of government in ancient Rome, which produced citizens without number, illustrious for virtue and talents. Reflect upon Cincinnatus, eminent among heroes for disinterested love to his country. Had he been a Briton, a seat in parliament would have gratified his ambition, as affording the best opportunity of serving his country. In parliament he joins the party that appears the most zealous for the public. Being deceived in his friends, patriots in name only not in reality, he goes over to the court; and after fighting the battles of the ministry for years, he is compelled by a shattered fortune to accept a post or a pension. Fortunate Cincinnatus! born at a time and in a country where virtue was the passport to power and glory. Cincinnatus, after serving with honour and reputation as chief magistrate, cheerfully retired to a private station, in obedience to the laws of his country: nor was that change a hardship on a man who was not corrupted by a long habit of power.

Political writers define a free state to be, where the people are governed by laws of their own making. This definition is lame; for laws made by the people are not always just. There were many unjust laws enacted in Athens during the democratical government; and in Britain instances are not wanting of laws, not only unjust, but oppressive. The true definition of a free state, is, where the legislature adheres strictly to the laws of nature; and calculates every one of its regulations for improving society, and for promoting industry and honesty among the people. If that definition be just, despotism is the worst species of government; being contrived to support arbitrary will in the sovereign, without regarding the laws of nature, or the good of society. The lawless cruelty of a King of Persia, is painted to the life by a single expression of a Persian grandee, "That every time he left the King's
" apartment,

"apartment, he was inclined to feel with his hand whether his head was on his shoulders." In the Russian empire, men approach the throne with terror: the slightest political intrigue is a sufficient foundation for banishing the greatest nobleman to Siberia, and for confiscating his estate. The laws of that empire smell no less rank of slavery than of oppression. No person dares game with money that bears the impression of the present sovereign: a man going along the street that fronts the Emperor's apartment, must pull off his hat; and it is a heinous trespass to write a letter with the Emperor's name in small characters. Despotism is every where the same: it was high treason to sell a statue of a Roman Emperor; and it was doubted, whether it was not high treason, to hit an Emperor's statue with a stone thrown at random (a). When Elisabeth Empress of Russia was on deathbed, no person durst enquire about her; and even after her death, it was not at first safe to speak of it. The deep silence of the Russians upon matters of government, arises from the encouragement given to accusations of treason. The bystanders must lay hold of the person accused: a father arrests his son, a son his father, and nature suffers in silence. The accused with the accuser are hurried to prison, there to remain till they be tried in the secret court of chancery. That court, composed of a few ministers named by the Emperor, have the lives and fortunes of all at their mercy. The nobility, slaves to the crown, are prone to retaliate upon their inferiors. They impose taxes at pleasure upon their vassals, and frequently seize all at short hand *.

Servility

(a) l. 5. ad legem Juliam Majestatis.

* The following incident is a striking example of the violence of passion, indulged in a despotic government, where men in power are under no control. Thomas Pereyra, a Portuguese general, having assisted the King of Pegu in a danger-

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Servility and depression of mind in the subjects of a despotic government, cannot be better marked than in the funeral rites of a Roman Emperor, described by Herodian (a). The body being burnt privately, a waxen image representing the Emperor is laid in a bed of state. On the one side sit the senators several hours daily, clothed in black; and on the other, the most respectable matrons, clothed in white. The ceremony lasts seven days, during which the physicians from time to time approach the bed, and declare the Emperor to be worse and worse. When the day comes of declaring him dead, the most dignified of the nobility carry the bed upon their shoulders, and place it in the old forum, where the Roman magistrates formerly laid down their office. Then begin doleful ditties, sung to his memory by boys and women. These being ended, the bed is carried to the *Campus Martius*, and there burnt upon a high stage with great solemnity. When the flames ascend, an eagle is let loose, which is supposed to carry the soul of the Emperor to heaven. Is that farce less ridiculous than a puppet-show? Is it not much more ridiculous? Dull must have been the spectator who could behold the solemnity without smiling at least, if not laughing outright; but the Romans were crushed by despotism, and nothing could provoke them to laugh. That ridiculous farce continued to be acted till the time of Constantine: how much later, I know not.

ous war with his neighbour of Siam, was a prime favourite at court, having elephants of state, and a guard of his own countrymen. One day coming from court mounted on an elephant, and hearing music in a house where a marriage was celebrating between a daughter of the family and her lover, he went into the house, and desired to see the bride. The parents took the visit for a great honour, and cheerfully presented her. He was instantly smitten with her beauty, ordered his guards to seize her, and to carry her to his palace. The bridegroom, a little able to bear the affront as to revenge it, cut his own throat.

(a) Lib. 4.

The finest countries have been depopulated by despotism; witness Greece, Egypt, and the Lesser Asia. The river Menam, in the kingdom of Siam, overflows annually like the Nile, depositing a quantity of slime, which proves a rich manure. The river seems to rise gradually as the rice grows; and retires to its channel when the rice, approaching to maturity, needs no longer to be watered. Nature beside has bestow'd on that rich country variety of delicious fruits, requiring scarce any culture. In such a paradise, would one imagine that the Siamites are a miserable people? The government is despotic, and the subjects are slaves: they must work for their monarch six months every year, without wages, and even without receiving any food from him. What renders them still more miserable, is, that they have no protection either for their persons or their goods: the grandees are exposed to the rapacity of the King and his courtiers; and the lower ranks are exposed to the rapacity of the grandees. When a man has the misfortune to possess a tree remarkable for good fruit, he is required in the name of the King, or of a courtier, to preserve the fruit for their use. Every proprietor of a garden in the neighbourhood of the capital, must pay a yearly sum to the keeper of the elephants; otherwise it will be laid waste by these animals, whom it is high treason to molest. From the sea-port of Mergui to the capital, one travels ten or twelve days, through immense plains of a rich soil, finely watered. That country appears to have been formerly cultivated, but is now quite depopulated, and left to tigers and elephants. Formerly, an immense commerce was carried on in that fertile country: historians attest, that in the middle of the sixteenth century above a thousand foreign ships frequented its ports annually. But the King, tempted with so much riches, endeavoured to engross all the commerce of his country; by which means he annihilated successively mines, manufactures, and even agriculture. The country is depopulated,
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and few remain there but beggars. In the island Ceylon, the King is sole proprietor of the land; and the people are supinely indolent: their huts are mean, without any thing like furniture: their food is fruit that grows spontaneously; and their covering is a piece of coarse cloth, wrapped round the middle. The settlement of the Dutch East-India company at the Cape of Good Hope, is profitable to them in their commerce with the East Indies; and it would be much more profitable, if they gave proper encouragement to the tenants and possessors of their lands. But these poor people are ruled with a rod of iron: what the company wants, is extorted from them at so low a price, as scarce to afford them common necessities. Avarice, like many other irregular passions, obstructs its own gratification: were industry duly encouraged, the product of the ground would be in greater plenty, and goods be afforded voluntarily at a lower price than they are at present obtained by violence. The Peruvians are a sad example of the effects of tyranny; being reduced to a state of stupid insensibility. No motive to action influences them; neither riches, nor luxury, nor ambition: they are even indifferent about life. The single pleasure they feel, is to get drunk, in order to forget their misery. The provinces of Moldavia, Walachia, and Bessarabia, situated between the 43d and 48th degrees of latitude, are defended on three sides by the Niester, the Black sea, and the Danube. The climate of that region, and the fertility of its soil, render it not inferior to any other country in Europe. Its pastures in particular are excellent, producing admirable horses, with an incredible number of sheep and horned cattle; and its industrial fruits, such as corn, wine, oil, honey, and wax, were formerly produced in great plenty. So populous was that region a few centuries ago, that the Prince of Walachia was able, in that province alone, to raise an army of seventy thousand men. Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, the wretched policy of the Turkish government

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has reduced these provinces to be almost a desert. A despotic government stifles in the birth all the bounties of nature, and renders the finest spots of the globe equally sterile with its barren mountains. When a patriotic king travels about to visit his dominions, he is received with acclamations of joy. A despotic prince dares not hope for such reception: he is locked up in his seraglio, ignorant of what passes; and indolently suffers his people to be pillaged, without even hearing of their distresses.

At the same time, despotism, tho' calculated to elevate the sovereign above the rules of justice, and to make him the only free person in his dominions, tends above all other governments to render him insecure. He becomes odious by oppression; and every hand would be raised against him, but for the restraint of fear. A situation so ticklish, lays him open to every bold spirit, prompted by revenge to seek his ruin, or by ambition to usurp his throne. In that respect, Russia and Turkey are precisely similar: conspiracies against the sovereign are equally frequent, and equally successful. The moment an usurper seizes the palace, all obstructions vanish: all prostrate themselves before the throne, without enquiring about the possessor's title. In that manner was the present Empress of Russia established, notwithstanding a very unfavourable circumstance, that of dethroning her own husband Peter III. No free spirit regrets such events in a despotic government: the only thing to be regretted is, that they concern the monarch only; not the people, who remain abject slaves as formerly. The present Empress, sensible of her precarious situation, is intent to humanize her people, and to moderate the despotism. In that view, she has published a code of laws fit for a limited monarchy, and expressing great regard to the lives, liberties, and property, of her subjects.

But a monarchy, with all the moderation that despotism can

admit, is inconsistent with liberty of the press. Political pamphlets, and even news-papers, are no less useful for instructing the King, than for securing his subjects. In France, the ministry are deprived of that means of acquiring knowledge; and are reduced to the necessity of trusting to insinuating men, who cunningly creep into favour, with a view to their own interest. After the late peace 1763, that ministry formed a plan for establishing a colony in Guiana; and no fewer than twelve thousand persons were landed there all at one time. But so grossly ignorant were they of the preparations necessary for planting a colony in the torrid zone, that contagious diseases, occasioned by unwholesome food, and want of accommodation, left not a single person alive. This could not have happened in England: every article of management would have been canvassed, and light would have broke in from every quarter.

I have insisted longer upon the deplorable effects of despotism than perhaps is necessary; but I was fond of the opportunity to justify, or rather applaud, the spirit of liberty so eminent in the inhabitants of Britain. I now proceed to compare different forms of government, with respect to various particulars; beginning with patriotism. Every form of government must be good that inspires patriotism; and the best form to enervate that noble passion, is a commonwealth founded on rotation of power, where it is the study of those in office, to do good, and to merit approbation from their fellow-citizens. In the Swiss Cantons, the salaries of magistrates and public officers, are scarce sufficient to defray their expences; and those worthy persons desire no other recompense, but to be esteemed and honoured*. A republic so modelled,

* No human work can be everlasting. The seventy-two bailiages of the extensive canton of Bern, threaten ruin to the republic. Those lucrative offices, which

modelled, inspires virtues of every sort. The people of Switzerland seldom think of a writing to confirm a bargain: a law-suit is scarce known among them; and many there are who have never heard of an advocate nor of an attorney. Their doors are never shut but in winter. It is patriotism that Montesquieu has in view, when he pronounces virtue to be the leading principle in a republic. He has reason to term it so, because patriotism is connected with every social virtue; and when it vanishes, men regard themselves only, not their fellow-citizens. Democracy will never be recommended by any enlightened politician, as a good form of government; were it for no other reason, but that patriotism cannot long subsist where the mob governs. In monarchy, the King is exalted so high above his subjects, that his ministers are little better than servants. Such condition is not friendly to patriotism: it is as little friendly to ambition; for ministers are still servants, however much raised above other subjects. Wealth being the only remaining pursuit, promotes avarice to be their ruling passion. Now if patriotism be not found in ministers, who have power, far less in men who have no power; and thus in monarchy, riches are preferred before virtue, and every vicious offspring of avarice has free course.

Without piercing to the foundation, one can have no just notion of the various forms that government assumes in different states. Monarchy is of many different kinds, and so is a repu-

the great council appropriates to its own members, occasion a constant influx of riches into the capital. Patriotism is observed of late years to be on the decline among the citizens of Bern; and no wonder, considering that luxury and selfishness are the never-failing offspring of opulence. When selfishness becomes the ruling passion of that people, those in power will pilfer the public treasure, which is immense, and enrich themselves with the spoils of the republic. Confusion and anarchy must ensue, and the state will settle in a monarchy, or more probably in an odious democracy.

blic. Rome and Carthage, the two great rival republics of ancient times, differed widely in their original constitution. Much has been said of these republics by historians and political writers. There is one point of comparison, that will set in a clear light the difference of their constitutions, with respect to peace and war. Carthage, advantageously situated for commerce, became a great and flourishing trading town. The Carthaginians having no object but riches, admitted none into a participation of their privileges. War was against their genius: but conquest was not, if it produced wealth; and therefore they made war in order to load their new subjects with taxes. Rome, on the contrary, was ill situated for commerce: its inhabitants were from the beginning employed in war, either defensive or offensive. Their great object accordingly was power; to which end, they were always disposed to adopt as citizens the best of those they conquered. Thus Rome became a city of warriors, Carthage of merchants. The subjects of the latter were always ripe for a revolt, while the subjects of the former were always faithful. Between two such states, there could be no equality in war; and had the Carthaginians been as skilful in politics as they were in commerce, they would have avoided, with the strictest circumspection, every occasion of quarrel with the Romans. Rome employ'd its own citizens in war: Carthage had none to employ but mercenaries. In an offensive war, the object of the latter was riches; that of the former was power and glory, motives much superior, and more animating. In a defensive war, the difference is infinite between mercenaries, who have no interest but to receive their pay, and citizens, who fight for their country, and for their wives and children. What then are we to think of Hannibal, who, reversing the laws of nature, carried on war against the Romans with an army of mercenaries, was successful in every engagement, and brought them to the very brink of ruin? He certainly was the greatest

greatest General the world ever saw. If any one is to be excepted, it is the present King of Prussia.

I next compare different forms of government, with respect to the influence of opulence. Riches, which, joined with ambition, produce bold attempts for power, are however not dangerous in monarchy, where the sovereign is so far superior, as to humble to the dust the most aspiring of his subjects. But riches, joined with ambition, are dangerous in a republic: ambition will suggest the possibility of sowing dissension among the leaders; riches will make the attempt successful; and then adieu to the republic. Wealth, accumulated by commerce in Carthage and in Athens, extinguished patriotism, and rendered their democracy unjust, violent, and tyrannical. It had another bad effect; which was, to make them ambitious of conquest. The sage Plutarch charges Themistocles with the ruin of Athens. "That great man," says he, "inspired his countrymen with desire of naval power. That power produced extensive commerce, and consequently riches: riches again, beside luxury, inspired the Athenians with a high opinion of their power, and made them rashly engage in every quarrel among their neighbours." Suppress the names, and one will believe it to be a censure on the conduct of Britain. Successful commerce prompted the Carthaginians, against their natural interest, to make war for gain. Had they been successful against the Romans, both nations would have fallen a sacrifice to the ambition of Hannibal: after subduing Italy, what Carthaginian durst have opposed that glorious conqueror, returning with a victorious army, devoted to his will? That event was long dreaded by Hanno, and the wiser part of the Carthaginian senate; and hence their scanty supplies to Hannibal. But what is only a supposition with respect to Carthage, proved to be the fate of Rome. Inequality of rank, opulence, and luxury, relaxed every fundamental principle of the commonwealth, particularly rotation
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of power, which ought to have been their palladium. Conquest at a distance, led them unwarily, in some instances, to suspend that fundamental law; of which Cæsar availed himself in his Gallic war, by debauching from their duty the best disciplined army of the republic: and it was that army, under a leader little inferior to Hannibal, which determined the fate of Rome.

A state with a small territory, such as Hamburgh or Holland, may subsist long as a commonwealth, without much hazard from the opulence of individuals. But an extensive territory in the hands of a few opulent proprietors, is dangerous in a commonwealth; because of their influence over numbers who depend on them for bread. The island of Britain is too large for a commonwealth. This occurred to a profound political writer (a) who does honour to his country; and to remedy the evil, he proposes an Agrarian law. But it is vain to think, that accumulation of land can be prevented by an Agrarian law: a trust-deed is a ready screen for covering accumulation beyond law: and dark transactions will be carried on without end; similar to what is practised, most dishonestly, by those who elect and are elected members of parliament. When such comes to be the condition of land-property, the Agrarian law will be ripe for dissolution.

In early times, we discover greater variety of character than at present; among sovereigns especially, who are not taught to govern their passions. Perusing the history of Spain in particular, one is struck with an amazing variety of character in the Moorish Kings. In some of them, outrageous cruelty; in others, mildness, and affection for their people: in some, unbounded ambition, surmounting every obstacle of justice and humanity; in others, strict attention to commerce and to every moral virtue; some heaping up treasure; some squandering all upon voluptuousness;

(a) Harrington.

some cultivating peace; some fond of war. During the nonage of society, men exert their natural bias without reserve: in the progress of society, they are taught to moderate their turbulent passions: at last mild and courtly behaviour, produced by education and imitation, give an air to men of figure as if they were all copies from one original; which is peculiarly the case in France. The mildness of external behaviour, must have a considerable influence on the internal part; for nothing tends more to soften or to suppress a passion, than never to give it vent; and for that reason, absolute monarchy in France is far from being so dreadful as it was formerly. It is at present far from being violent or sanguinary; the manners of the people having the same influence there, that laws have in a free country. The King, delicate with respect to his conduct, and dreading the censure of the world, is guilty of few excesses; and the people, tame and submissive, are easily kept in order. Among men of rank, to be discharged the court, or to be relegated to their country-seats, is more terrible than a capital punishment.

We finish this short essay with a comparison of different governments as to the execution of laws. Laws relative to property and pecuniary interest, are every where preserved in vigour, because the violation of them hurts many. Laws respecting the public, are kept alive in monarchical governments; because the King, to whom execution of law is intrusted, seldom benefits by their transgression. For a steady execution of such laws, a democracy has nothing to rely on but patriotism; and when that subsides, such laws fall asleep. The reason is, that the powers both of legislation and execution center in the people; and a multitude, frequently no better than a mob, will never with constancy direct execution against themselves.

S K E T C H

S K E T C H IV.

PROGRESS OF STATES from small to great, and from great to small.

WHen tribes, originally small, spread wider and wider by population till they become neighbours, the slightest differences enflame mutual aversion, and instigate hostilities that never end. Weak tribes unite for defence against the powerful, and become insensibly one people: other tribes are swallow'd up by conquest. And thus states become more and more extensive, till they are confined by seas or mountains. Spain originally contained many small states, which were all brought under the Roman yoke. In later times, it was again possessed by many states, Christian and Mahometan, continually at war, till by conquest they were united in one great kingdom. Portugal still maintains its independency, a blessing it owes to the weakness of Spain, not to advantage of situation. The small states of Italy were subdued by the Romans; and those of Greece by Philip of Macedon, and his son Alexander. Scotland escaped narrowly the paws of Edward I. of England; and would at last have been conquered by its more potent neighbour, had not conquest been prevented by a federal union.

But at that rate, have we not reason to dread the union of all nations under one universal monarch? There are several causes that for ever will prevent a calamity so dreadful. The local situa-

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tion of some countries, defended by strong natural barriers, is one of these. Britain is defended by the sea; and so is Spain, except where divided from France by the Pyrenean mountains. Europe in general, by many barriers of seas, rivers, and mountains, is fitted for states of moderate extent: not so Asia, which being divided into very large portions, is prepared by nature for extensive monarchies *. Russia is the only exception in Europe; a weak kingdom by situation, tho' rendered formidable by the extraordinary talents of one man, and of more than one woman.

A second cause is the weakness of a great state. The strength of a state doth not increase with its bulk, more than that of a man. An overgrown empire, far from being formidable to its neighbours, falls to pieces by its weight and unwieldyness. Its frontiers are not easily guarded: witness France, which is much weakened by that circumstance, tho' its greater part is bounded by the sea. Patriotism vanishes in a great monarchy: the provinces have no mutual connection; and the distant provinces, which must be governed by bashaws, are always ripe for a revolt. To secure Nicomedia, which had frequently suffered by fire, Pliny suggested to the Emperor Trajan, a fire-company of one hundred

* En Asie on a toujours vu de grands empires; en Europe ils n'ont jamais pu subsister. C'est que l'Asie que nous connoissons a de plus grandes plaines: elle est coupée en plus grands morceaux par les montagnes et les mers; et comme elle est plus au midi, les sources y sont plus aisément taries, les montagnes y sont moins couvertes des neiges, et les fleuves, moins grossis, y forment des moindres barriers. *L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. 17. c. 6. — [In English thus: "In Asia there have always been great empires: such could never subsist in Europe. The reason is, that in Asia there are larger plains, and it is cut by mountains and seas into more extensive divisions: as it lies more to the south, its springs are more easily dried up, the mountains are less covered with snow, and the rivers proportionally smaller form less considerable barriers."]

and fifty men. So infirm at that period was the Roman empire, that Trajan durst not put the project in execution, fearing disturbances even from that small body.

The chief cause is the luxury and effeminacy of a great monarchy, which leave no appetite for war, either in the sovereign or in his subjects. Great inequality of rank in an extensive kingdom, occasioned by a constant flow of riches into the capital, introduces show, expensive living, luxury, and sensuality. Riches, by affording gratification to every sensual appetite, become an idol to which all men bow the knee; and when riches are worshipped as a passport to power, as well as to pleasure, they corrupt the heart, eradicate every virtue, and foster every vice. In such dissolution of manners, contradictions are reconciled: avarice and meanness unite with vanity; dissimulation and cunning, with splendor. Where subjects are so corrupted, what will the prince be, who is not taught to moderate his passions, who measures justice by appetite, and who is debilitated by corporeal pleasures? Such a prince never thinks of heading his own troops, nor of extending his dominions. Mostazen, the last Califf of Bagdat, is a conspicuous instance of the degeneracy described. His kingdom being invaded by the Tartars in the year 1258, he shut himself up in his seraglio with his debauched companions, as in profound peace; and, stupified with sloth and voluptuousness, was the only person who appeared careless about the fate of his empire. A King of Persia, being informed that the Turks had made themselves masters of his best provinces, answered, that he was indifferent about their success, provided they would not disturb him in his city of Isfahan. Hoarsang, the last Chinese Emperor of the Chinese race, hid himself in his palace, while the Tartars were wresting from him his northern provinces, and Litsching, a rebel mandarine, was wresting from him the remainder. The Empress strangled herself in her apartment; and the Emperor,

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making a last effort, followed her example. The ninth Chinese Emperor, of the blood of Genhizcan, addicted to women and priests, was despised by his people. A person without a name, who had been a servant in a convent of Bonzes, putting himself at the head of some robbers, dethroned the monarch, and extinguished the royal family.

The Tonquinese, after a long subjection to the Emperor of China, regained their independence, and were governed by kings of their own nation. These princes having by long peace become indolent, luxurious, and effeminate, abandoned the government of the kingdom to their ministers. The governor of Cochinchina, being at a great distance from the capital, revolted first, and that country became a separate kingdom. The governor of Tonquin, within which province the King resided, usurped the sovereignty: but respecting the royal family, he only locked up the King in his palace; leaving to the King's descendents the name of *Bova*, or King, with some shadow of royalty. The usurper and his successors content themselves with the title of *Chova*, or Generalissimo; which satisfies the people, who pierce no deeper than what eyesight discovers. A revolution of the same kind happened in Japan. Similar causes produce similar effects. The luxurious and indolent successors of Charlemagne in the kingdom of France, trusting their power and authority with the mairs of their palace, were never seen in public, and were seldom heard of. The great power of these officers, inflamed them with an appetite for more. Pepin and his successors were for a long time kings *de facto*, leaving to the rightful sovereign nothing but the empty name. Charles Martel reigned for some time without even naming a king. And at last Pepin the younger, ann. 754, throwing off the mask, ordered himself to be proclaimed King of France.

Montesquieu, discoursing of luxury in great empires, and ef-

feminacy in the monarchs, describes the danger of revolutions from ambitious men bred to war, in the following words. "En effet il étoit naturel que des Empereurs nourris dans les fatigues de la guerre, qui parvenoient à faire descendre du trône une famille noyée dans les delices, conservassent la vertu qu'ils avoient eue si funeste. Mais après ces trois ou quatre premiers princes, la corruption, le luxe, l'oisiveté, les delices, s'emparent des successeurs; ils s'enferment dans le palais, leur esprit s'affoiblit, leur vie s'accourcit, la famille decline; les grands s'élèvent, les eunuques s'accroissent, on ne met sur le trône que des enfants; le palais devient ennemi de l'empire, un peuple oisif qui l'habite, ruine celui qui travaille; l'Empereur est tué ou détruit par un usurpateur, qui fonde une famille, dont le troisième ou quatrième successeur va dans le même palais se renfermer encore * (a)."

Little reason then have we to apprehend the coalition of all nations into an universal monarchy. We see indeed in the history of mankind, frequent instances of the progress of nations from

"It was indeed natural, that emperors, trained up to all the fatigues of war, who had effected the dethronement of a family immersed in sensual pleasures, should adhere to that virtue of which they had experienced the utility, and dread that voluptuousness whose fatal effects they had seen. But after a succession of three or four such princes, corruption, luxury, and indolence, appear again in their successors: they shut themselves up in their palace, their soul is enervated, their life is shortened, and their family declines: the grandees acquire power, the eunuchs gain credit, and children are set on the throne; the palace is at variance with the empire, the indolent statesmen ruin the industrious people. The Emperor is assassinated or deposed by an usurper, who founds a new race of monarchs, of which the third or fourth in succession, sinking again into indolence, pursues the same course of ruin, and lays the foundation of a new change."

(a) L'esprit des Loix, liv. 7. chap. 7.

small to great; but we see also instances no less frequent, of extensive monarchies being split into many small states. Such is the course of human affairs: states are seldom stationary; but, like the sun, are either advancing to their meridian, or falling down gradually till they sink into obscurity. An empire subjected to effeminate princes, and devoid of patriotism, cannot long subsist entire. The fate of all, with very few exceptions, has been uniformly the same. The governors of provinces, losing all regard for a voluptuous and effeminate monarch, take courage, set up for themselves, and assume regal authority, each in his own province. The puissant Assyrian monarchy, one of the earliest we read of in history, after having been long a terror to its neighbours, was dismembered by the governors of Media and of Babylon, who detached these extensive provinces from the monarchy. Mahomet and his immediate successors erected a great empire, of which Bagdat became the capital. The later Califfs of that race, poisoned with sensual pleasure, lost all vigour of mind, and sunk down into sloth and effeminacy. The governors of the distant provinces, were the first who ventured to declare themselves independent. Their success invited other governors, who stripped the Califf of his remaining provinces, leaving him nothing but the city of Bagdat; and of that he was deprived by the Tartars, who put an end to that once illustrious monarchy. The same would have been the fate of the Persian empire, had it not been subdued by Alexander of Macedon. But after his death, it submitted to the ordinary fate: his generals assumed regal power, each of them in the province he governed. Had not the Roman empire been dismembered by the barbarians, it would have been dismembered by the governors of its provinces. The weakness of Charlemagne's successors, hatched in France and in Germany an endless number of petty sovereigns. About the time that a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, the great peninsula

fula beyond the Ganges was comprehended under the powerful empire of Bishnagar. Its first monarchs had established themselves by valour and military knowledge. In war, they headed their troops; in peace, they directed their ministers, visited their dominions, and were punctual in rendering justice to high and low. The people carried on an extensive and lucrative commerce, which brought a revenue to the Emperor that enabled him to maintain a standing army of 100,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 700 elephants. But prosperity and opulence ruined all. The Emperors, poisoned with pride and voluptuousness, were now contented with swelling titles, instead of solid fame. *King of kings*, and *Husband of a thousand wives*, were at the head of a long catalogue of such pompous but empty epithets. Corrupted by flattery, they affected divine honours, and appeared rarely in public; leaving the care of their dominions to their ministers, and to the governors of their provinces. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, neighbouring princes encroached on all sides. In the 1565, Bishnagar the capital was taken and sacked by four Moorish kings. The governors of the provinces declared themselves independent; and out of that great empire sprung the kingdoms of Golconda, Visapour, and several others. The empire of Hindostan, once widely extended, is now reduced to a very small kingdom, under a prince who no longer is intitled to be designed the Great Mogul; the governors of his provinces having, as usual, declared themselves independent.

Our North-American colonies are in a prosperous condition, increasing rapidly in population, and in opulence. The colonists have the spirit of a free people, and are enflamed with patriotism. Their population will equal that of Britain and Ireland in less than a century; and they will then be a match for the mother-country, if they chuse to be independent: every advantage will be on their side, as the attack must be by sea from a very great distance. Be-

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ing thus delivered from a foreign yoke, their first care will be the choice of a proper government; and it is not difficult to foresee what government will be chosen. A people animated with the new blessings of liberty and independence, will not incline to a kingly government. The Swiss cantons joined in a federal union, for protection against the potent house of Austria; and the Dutch embraced the like union, for protection against the more potent King of Spain. But our colonies will never join in such a union; because they have no potent neighbour, and because they have an aversion to each other. We may pronounce then with tolerable certainty, that each colony will chuse for itself a republican government. And their present constitution prepares them for it: they have a senate; and they have an assembly representing the people. No change will be necessary, but to drop the governor who represents the King of Britain. And thus a part of a great state will be converted into many small states.

SKETCH

S K E T C H V.

G R E A T and S M A L L S T A T E S compared.

Neighbours, according to the common saying, must be sweet friends or bitter enemies: patriotism is vigorous in small states; and the hatred to neighbouring states no less so: both vanish in a great monarchy.

Like a *maximum* in mathematics, emulation has the finest play within certain bounds; it languisheth where its objects are too many, or too few: and hence it is, that the most heroic actions are performed in a state of moderate extent. Appetite for applause, or fame, may subsist in a great monarchy; but by that appetite, without the support of emulation, heroic actions are seldom achieved.

Small states, however corrupted, are not liable to despotism; the people being contiguous to the seat of government, and accustomed to see their governors daily, talk familiarly of their errors, and publish them every where. On Spain, which formerly consisted of many small states, a profound writer (*a*) makes the following observation. "The petty monarch was but little elevated above his nobles: having little power, he could not command much respect; nor could his nobles look up to him with that reverence which is felt in approaching great monarchs." Another thing is equally weighty against despotism in a small state:

(*a*) Dr Robertson.

the army cannot easily be separated from the people; and for that reason, is very little dangerous. The Roman pretorian bands were billeted in the towns near Rome; and three cohorts only were employed in guarding that city. Sejanus, prefect of these bands under Tiberius, lodged the three cohorts in a spacious barrack within the city, in order to gain more authority over them, and to wean them from familiarity with the people. Tacitus, in the 4th book of his Annals, relates the story in the following words. "*Vim præfecturæ modicam antea, intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo; ut simul imperia acciperent, numeroque et robore, et visu, inter se, fiducia ipsis, in cæteros metus, crearetur* *."

What is said above, suggests the cause of a curious fact recorded in ancient history, viz. That of many attempts to usurp the sovereignty of different Greek republics, very few succeeded; and that no usurpation of that kind was lasting. Every circumstance differs in an extensive state: the people, at a distance from the throne, and having profound veneration for the sovereign, consider themselves, not as members of a body-politic, but as subjects merely, bound implicitly to obey: by which impression they are prepared beforehand for despotism. Other reasons concur: the subjects of a great state are dazzled with the splendor of their monarch; and as their union is prevented by distance, the monarch can safely employ a part of his subjects against the rest, or a standing army against all.

A great state possesses one eminent advantage, viz. ability to

* "He extended the power of the prefecture, by collecting into one camp those pretorian cohorts which were formerly dispersed all over the city; that thus, being united, they might be more influenced by his orders, and while their confidence in their power was increased by the constant view of their own numbers and strength, they might at the same time strike a great terror in others."

execute magnificent works. The hanging gardens of Babylon, the pyramids of Egypt, and its lake Meris, are illustrious examples. The city of Heliopolis, in Syria, named *Balbek* by the Turks, is a pregnant instance of the power and opulence of the Roman empire. Even in the ruins of that city, there are remains of great magnificence and exquisite taste. If the imperial palace, or the temple of the Sun, to mention no other building, were the work of any European prince existing at present, it would make a capital figure in the annals of his reign. And yet so little *eclat* did these works make at the time of execution, that there is not a hint of them in any historian. The beneficence of some great monarchs is worthy of still greater praise. In the principal roads of Japan, hot baths are erected at proper distances, with other conveniencies, for the use of travellers. The beneficence of the Chinese government to those who suffer shipwreck, gives a more advantageous impression of that monarchy, than all that is painfully collected by Du Halde. To verify the observation, I joyfully lay hold of the following incident. In the year 1728, the ship Prince George took her departure from Calcutta in Bengal for Canton in China, with a cargo L. 60,000 value. A violent storm drove her ashore at a place named *Timpau*, a great way west from Canton. Not above half the crew could make the shore, worn out with fatigue and hunger, and not doubting of being massacred by the natives. How amazed were they to be treated with remarkable humanity! A mandarin appeared, who not only provided for them victuals in plenty, but also divers to assist them in fishing the wreck. What follows is in the words of my author, Alexander Wedderburn of St Germain, a gentleman of known worth and veracity, who bore office in the ship. "In a few days we recovered L. 5000 in bullion, and afterward L. 10,000 more. Before we set forward to Canton, the mandarin our benefactor took an exact account of our money, with the names of the
"men,

“ men, furnished us with an escort to conduct us through his
 “ district, and consigned us dead or alive to one Suqua at Canton,
 “ a Chinese merchant well known to the English there. In every
 “ one of our resting-places, victuals were brought to us by the
 “ villagers in plenty, and with great cordiality. In this manner
 “ we passed from one district to another, without having occasion
 “ to lay out a single farthing, till we reached Canton, which we
 “ did in nine days, travelling sometimes by land, and sometimes
 “ by water. Our case had been represented to the court at Pekin,
 “ from whence orders came to distribute amongst us a sum of
 “ money ; which was done by the Chuntuck, Hoppo, and other
 “ officers, civil and military, assembled in great state. After a
 “ short speech, expressing regret for our calamity, with an eulo-
 “ gium on the humane and generous disposition of their master ;
 “ to each of us was presented the Emperor’s bounty, in a yellow
 “ bag, on which was inscribed the nature of the gift. The
 “ first supercargo received 450 taels in silver, the second 350, my-
 “ self 250, the mate 75, and each common seaman 15 ; the whole
 “ amounting to about 2000 taels, or L. 800. This is an example
 “ worthy imitation, even where Christianity is professed ; tho’
 “ its tenets are often, on like occasions, scandalously perverted.”
 So far my author : and I add, that this bounty was undoubtedly
 established by law ; for it has not the appearance of an occasional
 or singular act of benevolence. If so, China is the only country
 in the world, where charity to strangers in distress is a branch of
 public police.

Another advantage of a great state I mention with peculiar
 pleasure, because all who aspire to be eminent in literature, are in-
 terested in it. A small kingdom, like Denmark, like Sweden, like
 Portugal, cannot naturally be productive of good writers ; because
 where there are few readers, there is no sufficient incitement to
 exert literary talents : a classical work produced at present in the

Celtic language, would be little less than a miracle. France is eminent above all other nations for the encouragement it affords to good writers: it is a populous country; it is the chief seat of taste, arts, and sciences; and its language has become universal in Europe, being the court-language every where: what wonder then is it, that French writers carry the palm? But let not the British despond; for doth not a glorious prospect lie before them? The demand for English books in America is considerable; and is increasing daily. Population goes on vigorously: the number of British already settled upon the river Ohio approach to 10,000; and the delicious country from that river down to the mouth of the Mississippi, will be filled with people whose native tongue is English. What reason is there to doubt, but that so fine a climate and so rich a soil will be productive of readers in plenty? The prospect of so many readers, tho' in distant parts of the globe, must rouse our ambition; and our ambition will be happily directed, if we lay aside all local distinctions, and aspire to rival the French writers in real merit only.

But the foregoing advantages of a great state, however illustrious, are sadly overbalanced by manifold disadvantages. The first is, the corruption of its kings, which, with a different view, is mentioned in the sketch immediately preceding. And beside corruption, there is another disadvantage that great monarchs are subjected to; which is, that being highly elevated above their subjects, they are acquainted with none but their ministers. And ministers, who, in a despotic government, are subject to no controul but that of their master, commonly prefer their own interest, without regard to his honour. Solyman Emperor of the Turks, tho' accomplished above any of his predecessors, could not escape the artifices of his wife Roxalana, and of his Visir Rustan. They poisoned his ears with repeated calumnies against his eldest son Mustapha, a young prince of great hopes. They were not in hazard

hazard of detection, because no person had access to the Emperor but by their means. And the concluding scene, was an order from the Emperor to put his son to death (a). If a great monarch lie thus open in his own palace to the artifices of his ministers, his authority, we may be certain, will be very slight over the governors of his distant provinces. Their power is precarious; and they oppress the people without intermission, in order to amass wealth: the complaints of the people are disregarded; for they can never reach the throne. The Spanish governors of the Philippine islands, afford a deplorable instance of this observation. The heat of the climate promotes luxury; and luxury prompts avarice, which ranges without controul, the distance of the capital removing all fear of detection. Arbitrary taxes are imposed on the people, and excessive duties on goods imported, which are rigorously exacted, and converted by the governor to his own use. An arbitrary estimate is made of what every field may produce; and the husbandman is severely punished if he fail to deliver the appointed quantity, whether his land has produced it or not. Many thousands have abandoned their native country; and the few miserable wretches who remain, have taken refuge among inaccessible mountains.

The corruption of a court spreads through every member of the state. In an extensive kingdom, powerful above its neighbours, the subjects, having no occasion to exert themselves in defence of their country, lose their manhood, and become cowards. At the same time, great inequality of rank and fortune engender luxury, selfishness, and sensuality *. The fine arts, it is true, gain

(a) See Dr Robertson's history of Charles V. where this incident is related with uncommon spirit.

* The following passage is from a late Russian writer. "It is a truth founded on:

gain ground, manufactures are perfected, and courtly manners prevail: but every manly virtue is gone; and not a soul to be found, who will venture his life to save his country. That disease is spreading in Britain; and the only circumstance that guards France from equal pusillanimity, is an established mode, that every gentleman must serve some campaigns in the army.

A third disadvantage of an extensive monarchy is, that it is liable to internal convulsions or revolutions, occasioned commonly either by a standing army, or by the governors of distant provinces. With respect to the former, the government of a great kingdom enervated by luxury, will always be military, and consequently despotic. A numerous army will soon learn to condemn a pusillanimous leader, and to break loose from every tie of subjection: the sovereign is often changed at the caprice of the army; but despotism continues invariable. In Turkey, Janisaries dethrone the Sultan, without scruple; but being superstitiously attached to the royal family, they confine themselves to it in electing a new Sultan. The pretorian bands were the Janisaries of the Roman empire, who never scrupled to dethrone the Emperor on the slightest disobligation. But as there was no royal family, they commonly carried the crown to market, and bestow'd it on the highest bidder. With respect to the latter, the governors of distant provinces,

“on experience, that commerce polishes manners: but it is also a truth, that
 “commerce, by exciting luxury, corrupts manners. With the increase of foreign
 “fashions and foreign commerce in Russia, foreign luxury has increased there in
 “proportion, universal dissipation has taken the lead, and profligacy of manners
 “has followed. Great landlords squeeze and grind their people, to supply the in-
 “cessant demands of luxury: the miserable peasant, disabled by a load of taxes, is
 “frequently compelled to abandon his habitation, and to leave his land unculti-
 “vated. And thus agriculture and population diminish daily; than which no-
 “thing worse can befall a state.”

accustomed

accustomed to act without controul, become fond of power, and put no bounds to ambition. Let them but gain the affection of the people they govern, and boldness will do the rest. The monarch is dethroned before he is prepared for defence, and the usurper takes his place without opposition. Success commonly attends such undertakings; for the sovereign has no soul, and the people have no patriotism. In Hindostan formerly, some discontented favourite or soubha took up arms to avenge fancied, or perhaps affected wrongs: venturing not however upon independence, he screened himself with setting up some person of the royal blood, whom he proclaimed sovereign. The voluptuousness and effeminacy of the late kings of Persia, has rendered that kingdom a prey to every bold invader. There perhaps never existed a state that so often has changed its master, as Persia has done of late years.

In the fourth place, a nation corrupted with luxury and sensuality is a ready morsel for every invader: to attempt the conquest, and to succeed, are almost the same. The potent Assyrian monarchy, having long subsisted in peace without a single enemy, sunk into sloth and effeminacy, and became an easy prey to the kings of Media and Babylon. These two nations, in like circumstances of sloth and effeminacy, were in their turn swallow'd up by Cyrus King of Persia. And the great empire of Persia, running the same course, was subdued by Alexander of Macedon with a small army of thirty-five thousand men *.

And this leads to a fifth disadvantage of a great empire, which

* In Europe, neighbouring nations differ little in manners, or in fortitude. In Asia, we step instantly from the fierce Tartars, inhabiting a cold and barren country, to the effeminate people of a country warm and fertile. Hence in Asia perpetual conquests from north to south, to which even the great wall of China makes scarce any obstacle.

is, the difficulty of guarding its frontiers. A kingdom, like an animal, becomes weak in proportion to its excess above a certain size. France and Spain would be less fitted for defence, were they enlarged beyond their present extent: Spain in particular was a very weak kingdom, while it comprehended the Netherlands and the half of Italy. In their present size, forces are soon collected to guard the most distant frontiers. Months are required to assemble troops in an overgrown kingdom like Persia: if an army be defeated at the frontier, it must disperse, fortified places being seldom within reach. The victor, advancing with celerity, lays siege to the capital, before the provincial troops can be formed into a regular army: the capital is taken, the empire dissolved, and the conqueror at leisure disputes the provinces with their governors. The Philippine islands made formerly a part of the extensive empire of China; but as they were too distant to be protected, or well governed, it shew'd consummate wisdom in the Chinese government to abandon them, with several other distant provinces.

A small state, on the other hand, is easily guarded. The Greek republics thought themselves sufficiently fortified against the Great King, by their courage, their union, and their patriotism. The Spanish Christians, beat out of the open country by the Saracens, retired to the mountains of Asturia, and elected Don Pelayo to be their King. That warlike prince walled none of his towns, nor did he fortify a single pass; knowing, that while his people were brave, they would be invincible; and that walls and strong-holds serve but to abate courage. The Romans, while circumscribed within Italy, never thought of any defence against an enemy but good troops. When they had acquired a vast empire, even the Rhine appeared a barrier too weak: the numberless forts and legions that covered their frontiers could not defend them from a
panic

panic upon every motion of the barbarians *. A nation in which the reciprocal duties of sovereign and subject are conscientiously fulfilled, and in which the people love their country and their governors, may be deemed invincible; provided due care be taken of the military branch. Every particular is reversed in a great empire: individuals grasp at money, *per fas aut nefas*, to lavish it upon pleasure: the governors of distant provinces tyrannize without control, and, during the short period of their power, neglect no means, however oppressive, to amass wealth. Thus were the Roman provinces governed; and the people, who could not figure a greater tyrant than a Roman proconsul, were ready to embrace every change. The Romans accordingly were sensible, that to force their barrier, and to dismember their empire, were in effect the same. In our times, the nations whose frontiers lie open, would make the most resolute stand against an invader; witness the German states, and the Swiss cantons. Italy enjoys the strongest natural barrier of any country that is not an island; and yet for centuries has been a prey to every invader.

Two methods have been practised for securing the frontiers of an extensive empire: one is, to lay the frontiers waste; the other is, to establish feudatory princes in the distant provinces. Sha Abbas, King of Persia, in order to prevent the inroads of the Turks, laid waste part of Armenia, carrying the inhabitants to Ispahan, and treating them with great humanity. Land is not much valued by the great monarchs of Asia: it is precious in the smaller kingdoms of Europe, and the frontiers are commonly guarded by fortified towns. The other frontiers of Persia are guarded by feudatory princes; and the same method is practised in China, in Hindostan, and in the Turkish empire. The princes of Little Tartary, Moldavia, and Wallachia, have been long a security to the Grand Signior against his powerful neighbours in Europe.

* The use of cannon, which place the weak and strong upon a level, is the only resource of the luxurious and opulent against the poor and hardy.

S K E T C H VI.

W A R and P E A C E compared.

NO complaints are more frequent than against the weather, when it suits not our purpose: "A dismal season! we shall be drowned, or we shall be burnt up." And yet wise men think, that there might be more occasion to complain, were the weather left to our own direction. The weather is not the only instance of distrusting Providence: it is a common topic to declaim against war; "Scourge of nations, Destroyer of the human race, Bane of arts and industry! Will the world never become wise! will war never have an end!" Manifest indeed are the blessings of peace; but doth war never produce any good? A fair comparison may possibly make it doubtful, whether war, like the weather, ought not to be resigned to the conduct of Providence: seldom are we in the right when we repine at its dispensations.

The blessings of peace are too well known to need illustration: industry, commerce, the fine arts, power, opulence, &c. &c. depend on peace. What has war in store for balancing blessings so substantial? Let us not abandon the field without making at least one effort.

Humanity, it must be acknowledged, gains nothing from the wars of small states in close neighbourhood: such wars are brutal and bloody; because they are carried on with bitter enmity against individuals. Thanks to Providence, that war at present
bears

bears a less savage aspect : we spare individuals, and make war upon the nation only : barbarity and cruelty give place to magnanimity ; and soldiers are converted from brutes into heroes. Such wars give exercise to the elevated virtues of courage, generosity, and disinterestedness, which are always attended with consciousness of merit and of dignity *. Friendship is in peace cool and

* In the war carried on by Louis XII. of France against the Venetians, the town of Brescia, being taken by storm, and abandoned to the soldiers, suffered for seven days all the distresses of cruelty and avarice. No house escaped but that where Chevalier Bayard was lodged. At his entrance, the mistress, a woman of figure, fell at his feet, and deeply sobbing, " Oh ! my Lord, save my life, save the honour of my daughters." Take courage, Madam, said the Chevalier, your life and their honour shall be secure while I have life. The two young ladies, brought from their hiding-place, were presented to him ; and the family, thus reunited, bestowed their whole attention on their deliverer. A dangerous wound he had received gave them opportunity to express their zeal : they employed a notable surgeon ; they attended him by turn day and night ; and when he could bear to be amused, they entertained him with concerts of music. Upon the day fixed for his departure, the mother said to him, " To your goodness, my Lord, we owe our life, and to you all that we have belongs by right of war ; but we hope from your signal benevolence, that this slight tribute will content you ;" placing upon the table an iron coffer full of money. " What is the sum," said the Chevalier. " My Lord," answered she trembling, " no more but 2500 ducats, all that we have ; — but if more be necessary, we will try our friends." — " Madam," said he, " I never shall forget your kindness, more precious in my eyes than a hundred thousand ducats. Take back your money, and depend always on me." — " My good Lord, you kill me to refuse this small sum : take it only as a mark of your friendship to my family." — " Well," said he, " since it will oblige you, I take the money ; but give me the satisfaction of bidding adieu to your amiable daughters." They came to him with looks of regard and affection. " Ladies," said he, " the impression you have made on my heart, will never wear out. What return to make, I know not ; for men of my profession are seldom opulent : but here are two thousand five hundred ducats, of which the generosity of your mother has given me the disposal. Accept them as a marriage-present ; and may your happiness in marriage equal your merit." " Flower of chivalry,"

and languid; but in a war for glory, exerts the whole fire of its enthusiasm. The long and bloody war sustained by the Netherlands

"valry," cried the mother, "may the God who suffered death for us reward you here and hereafter." Can peace afford so sweet a scene?

The following incident is still more interesting: it is of a late date; it happened among our countrymen; and will, for these reasons, make the deeper impression. The scene of action was in Admiral Watson's ship at the siege of Chandernagore, where Captain Speke, and his son, a youth of sixteen, were both of them wounded by the same shot. The history is related by Mr Ives surgeon of the ship; which follows in his own words, only a little abridged. The Captain, whose leg was hanging by the skin, said to the Admiral, "Indeed, Sir, this was a cruel shot, to knock down both father and son." Mr Watson's heart was too full for a reply; he only ordered both to be carried down to the surgeon. The Captain, who was first brought down, told me how dangerously his Billy had been wounded. Presently after the brave youth himself appeared, with his eyes overflowing with tears, not for himself but for his father. Upon my assurance that his father's wound was not dangerous, he became calm; but refused to be touched, till his father's wound should be first dressed. Then pointing to a fellow-sufferer, "Pray, Sir, dress also that poor man, who is groaning so sadly beside me." I told him that the man had already been taken care of; and begged, that I now might have liberty to examine his wound. He submitted; and calmly said, "Sir, I fear you must amputate above the joint." I replied, "My dear, I must." He clasped his hands together; and, lifting his eyes toward heaven, he offered up the following short but earnest petition: "Good God! do thou enable me to behave in my present circumstances worthy of my father." He then told me he was all submission. I performed the operation above the joint of the knee; and during the whole time the intrepid youth never spoke a word, nor uttered a groan that could be heard at the distance of a yard. It is easier to imagine than to express the feelings of the father at this time: but whatever he felt, tears were the only expression. Both of them were carried to Calcutta: the father was lodged in the house of his brother-in-law; and the son was placed with me in the hospital. For the first week I gave comfort to both, carrying good tidings to them of one another. But, alas! all the good symptoms that had attended the young man, began to disappear. The Captain perceived all in my countenance; and so unwilling was he to add to my distress, as seldom to speak about his son. One time he said, "How long, my friend, do you think my

"Billy

landers against the tyrant of Spain, made even Dutchmen heroes: they forc'd their way to the Indies during the hottest period of the war; and gained by commerce what supported them against their ferocious enemy. What have they gained since by peace? Their immense commerce has eradicated patriotism, and every appetite but for wealth. Had their violated rights been restored without a struggle, they would have continued a nation of frogs and fishermen. The Swifs, by continual struggles for liberty against the potent house of Austria, became a brave and active people, feared and courted by neighbouring princes. Their federal union has secured to them peace and tranquillity; which, notwithstanding their mountainous situation, would have sunk them into effeminacy, but for a commerce they carry on, of hiring out their men for soldiers. Monks are commonly pusillani-

"Billy may remain in a state of uncertainty?" I replied, that if he survived the fifteenth day after the operation, there would be strong hopes of his recovery. On the thirteenth he died; and on the sixteenth, the Captain, looking me steadfastly in the face, "Well, Ives, how fares it with my boy?" Discovering the truth from my silence, he cried bitterly, squeezed my hand, and begged me to leave him for one half-hour. When I returned, he appeared, as he ever after did, perfectly calm and serene. The excellent youth had been delirious the evening before his death; and at two o'clock in the morning, he sent me a note written with a pencil, of which the following is a copy. "Mr Ives will consider the disorder a son must be in when he is dying, and is yet in doubt about his father. — If Mr Ives is not too busy to honour this note, which nothing but the greatest uneasiness could draw from me — The boy waits an answer." I immediately repaired to him; and he had still sense enough to know me. He then said, "And is he dead?" — "Who, my dear?" — "My father, Sir." — "No, my love; nor is he in any danger; he is almost well." — "I thank God: I am now satisfied, and am ready to die." He had a locked jaw, and was in great pain, but I understood every word he uttered. He begged my pardon for having disturbed me at so early an hour; and before the day was ended, he surrendered a life that deserved to be immortal. — So far my author; and I only add, Does peace afford any scene that can compare with this in moving our sympathetic feelings?

mous :

mous: their way of life, which removes them from danger, enervates their minds, and renders them spiritless and cowardly.

Industry, manufactures, and wealth, are the fruits of peace; but advert to what follows. Luxury, a never-failing concomitant of wealth, is a slow poison, that debilitates the mind, and renders it incapable of any manly exertion; courage, magnanimity, heroism, come to be ranked among the miracles that are supposed never to have existed but in fable; and the fashionable properties of sensuality, avarice, cunning, and dissimulation, engross the mind. In a word, man by constant prosperity and peace degenerates into a mean, impotent, and selfish animal; more despicable, if less odious, than an American savage, who treasures up the scalps of his enemies as trophies of his prowess. Such are the fruits of perpetual peace with respect to individuals.

Nor is the state itself less debilitated by it than its members. Figure a man wallowing in riches, and immersed in sensual pleasure, but dreading the infection of a plague raging at his gate; or figure him in continual dread of an enemy, watching every opportunity to burn and destroy. This man represents a commercial state, that has long enjoy'd peace without disturbance. A state that is a tempting object to an invader, without means of defence, is in a woful situation. The republic of Venice was once famous for the wisdom of its constitution, and for being the Christian bulwark against the Turks; but by long peace it has become altogether effeminate. Its present principles of government are conformable to its character. Every cause of quarrel with a neighbour, is anxiously avoided; and disturbances at home prevented by watchful spies. Holland, since the days of King William, has not produced a man fit to command a regiment: and the Dutch have nothing to rely on for independence, but mutual jealousy among their neighbours. Hannibal appeared upon the stage too early: had the Romans, after their conquest of Italy, been

been suffered to exchange their martial spirit for luxury and voluptuousness, they would have been no match for that great general. It was equally lucky for the Romans, that they came late upon Macedon. Had Alexander finished his conquest of Greece, and the Romans theirs of Italy, at the same period, they would probably have been confined each of them within their own limits. But Asiatic luxury and effeminacy, which had got hold of the Greeks and Macedonians before the Roman invasion, rendered them an easy prey to the invaders. It was the constant cry of Cato the Censor, "*Delenda est Carthago.*" Scipio Nasica was a more able politician: his opinion was, to give peace to Carthage, that the dread of that once powerful republic, might preserve in vigour the military spirit of his country. What happened afterward, sets the wisdom of that advice in a conspicuous light. The battle of Actium, after a long train of cruel civil wars, gave peace to Rome under the Emperor Augustus. Peace had not subsisted much above thirty years, when a Roman army, under Quintilius Varus, was cut to pieces in Germany. The consternation at Rome was great, as there was not a fortified town to prevent the Germans from pouring down upon Italy. Instant orders were given for levying men; but so effeminate had the Romans already become, that not a single man would enlist voluntarily. And Augustus was forc'd to use severe measures, before he could collect a very small army. How different the military spirit of the Romans during the second Punic war, when several Roman armies were cut off, greater than that of Varus. The citizens who could bear arms were reduced to 137,000; and yet in the later years of that war, the Romans made shift to keep the field with no fewer than twenty-three legions (a). The Vandals, having expelled the Romans from Afric, enjoy'd peace for a century without seeing the face of an

(a) Titus Livius, lib. 26. cap. 1.

enemy.

enemy. Procopius (a) gives the following account of them. Charmed with the fertility of the soil and benignity of the climate, they abandoned themselves to luxury, sumptuous dress, high living, and frequent baths. They dwelt in the theatre and circus, amusing themselves with dancers, pantomimes, and other gay entertainments; their villas were splendid, and their gardens were adorned with water-works, beautiful trees, and odoriferous flowers: no regard to chastity, nor to any manly virtue. In that effeminate condition, they made scarce any resistance to Belisarius with an army far inferior to their own in number. The Saracens of Asia, corrupted by prosperity and opulence, were able to make no head against the Turks. About that time, the Spaniards, having by the same means become effeminate, were overpowered by the Saracens of Afric, who, remote from the corrupt manners of Asia, retained their military spirit. The wealth of the kingdom of Whidah in Guinea, from fertility of soil, great industry, and extensive commerce, produced luxury and effeminacy. The king, no less luxurious than his people, gave himself up to sensual pleasures, leaving government to his ministers. In that situation was Whidah in the year 1727, when the king of Dahomay, an inland state, requested access to the sea for trade, offering to purchase the privilege with a yearly tribute. A haughty denial furnished a pretext for war. The king of Dahomay invaded the territories of his enemy with a disciplined army, and pierced to the capital without meeting any resistance. The king of Whidah with his women had fled to an island, and his people were all dispersed. It amazed the conqueror, that a whole nation, without striking a blow, had thus deserted their wives, their children, their gods, their possessions, and all that was dear to them. The Japanese became warlike during long and bloody civil wars, which termi-

(a) *Historia Vandalica*, lib. 2.

nated, about the end of the sixteenth century, in rendering their Emperor despotic. From that period no opportunity has occurred for exercising their military spirit, except in the education of their youth: heroism, with contempt of death, are inculcated; and the histories of their illustrious heroes, are the only books that boys at school are taught to read. But the profound tranquility that the empire now enjoys in a strict and regular government, will in time render that warlike people effeminate and cowardly: human nature cannot resist the poison of perpetual peace and security. In the war between the Turks and Venetians *anno* 1715, the latter put great confidence in Napoli di Romania, a city in the Morea strongly fortified, and provided with every necessary for an obstinate defence. They had not the least doubt of being able to draw their whole force together, before the Turks could make any progress in the siege. But, to their astonishment, the taking of that city, and of every other fortified place in the Morea, was the work of but a single campaign. So much had the Venetians degenerated by long peace, from the courage and patriotism of their forefathers who conquered that country from the Turks. In some late accounts from China, we are told, that the King of Bengala or Bracma, having invaded Yunnan, an opulent province of China, obtained a complete victory over the Emperor's army, commanded by his son-in-law; which struck the inhabitants of that province with such a panic, that multitudes, for fear of the conqueror, hanged and drowned themselves. To what a torpid state by this time would Europe have been reduced, had the plan for a perpetual peace, projected by Henry IV. of France, been carried into execution? Conquest, in a retrograde motion, would have directed its progress from the east to the west. Our situation in an island, among several advantages, is so far unlucky, that it puts us off our guard, and renders us negligent in

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providing for defence: we never were invaded without being subdued *.

Montesquieu, in a warm panegyric on the English constitution, has overlooked one particular, in which it is superior to every other monarchy; and that is, the frequent opportunities it affords of exerting mental powers and talents. What agitation among the candidates and their electors on the approach of a new parliament: what freedom of speech and eloquence in parliament; ministers and their measures laid open to the world, the nation kept alive, and inspired with a vigour of mind that tends to heroism! This government, it is true, generates factions, which sometimes generate revolutions: but the golden age, so lusciously described by poets, would to man be worse than an iron age. At any rate, better to have a government liable to storms, than to attempt a cure by the dead calm of despotism †.

Law-suits

* The situation of the King of Sardinia, environed on all sides with powerful monarchs, obliges him to act with the greatest circumspection; which circumstance seems to have formed the character of the princes of that house. These princes have exerted more sagacity in steering their political course, and more dexterity in availing themselves of every wind, than any other race of sovereigns that figure in history. *Robertson's history of the Emperor Charles V.*

† On n'entend parler dans les auteurs que des divisions qui perdirent Rome; mais on ne voit pas que ces divisions y étoient nécessaires, qu'elles y avoient toujours été, et qu'elles y devoient toujours être. Ce fut uniquement la grandeur de la république qui fit le mal, et qui changea en guerres civiles les tumultes populaires. Il falloit bien qu'il y eût à Rome des divisions: et ces guerriers si fiers, si audacieux, si terribles au dehors, ne pouvoient pas être bien modérés au dedans. Demander dans un état libre des gens hardis dans la guerre, et timides dans la paix, c'est vouloir des choses impossibles: et pour règle générale, toutes les fois qu'on verra toute le monde tranquille dans un état qui se donne le nom de république, on peut être assuré que la liberté n'y est pas. *Montesquieu, grandeur des Romains, ch. 9.* — [*In English thus:* "Many writers have said a great deal on
" those

Law-suits within a state, like war between different states, accustom people to opposition, and prevent too great softness and facility of manners. In a free government, a degree of stubbornness in the people, is requisite for resisting encroachments on their liberties. The fondness of the French for their sovereign, and the easiness and politeness of their manners, have corrupted a good constitution. The British constitution has been preserved entire, by a people jealous of their prince, and stubborn against every encroachment of regal power.

There is another advantage of war, which ought not to be overlooked, tho' not capital. It serves to drain the country of idlers, few of whom are innocent, and many not a little mischievous. In the years 1759 and 1760, when we were at war with France, there were but twenty-nine criminals condemned at the Old Bailey. In the years 1770 and 1771, when we were at peace with all the world, the criminals condemned there amounted to one hundred and fifty-one.

But tho' I declare against perpetual peace, perpetual war is still more my aversion. The condition of Europe was deplorable in the dark ages, when vassals assumed the privilege of waging war without consent of the sovereign. Deadly feuds, which prevailed

" those factions which destroyed Rome; but they want the penetration to see,
 " that those factions were necessary, that they had always subsisted, and ever must
 " have subsisted. It was the grandeur of the state which alone occasioned the
 " evil, and changed into civil wars the tumults of the people. There must of ne-
 " cessity have been factions in Rome; for how was it possible, that those who a-
 " broad subdued all by their undaunted bravery and by the terror of their arms,
 " should live in peace and moderation at home? To look for a people in a free
 " state who are intrepid in war, and, at the same time, timid in peace, is to look
 " for an impossibility; and we may hold it as a general rule, that in a state which
 " professes a republican form of government, if the people are quiet and peace-
 " able, there is no real liberty."

universally, threatened dissolution of all government: the human race never were in a more woful condition. But anarchy never fails soon or late to provide a cure against itself, which effeminacy produced by long peace never does. Revenge and cruelty, it is true, are the fruits of war; but so are likewise firmness of mind and undaunted courage; which are exerted with better will in behalf of virtue than of revenge. The crusades were what first gave a turn to the fierce manners of our ancestors. A religious enterprise, which united numbers, formerly at variance, enlarged the sphere of social affection, and sweetened the manners of Christians to one another. These crusades filled Europe with heroes, who, at home, were ready for any new enterprise that promised laurels. Moved with the oppressive and miserable consequences of deadly feuds, they joined in bonds of chivalry for succouring the distressed, for redressing wrongs, and for protecting widows and orphans. Such heroism enflamed every one who was fond of glory and warlike achievements. Chivalry was relished by men of birth; and even kings were proud to be of the order. An institution, blending together valour, religion, and gallantry, was wonderfully agreeable to a martial people, and tended strongly to improve their manners: humanity and gentleness could not but prevail in a society, whose profession it was, to succour every person in distress. And as glory and honour were the only wished-for recompence, chivalry was esteemed the school of honour, of truth, and of fidelity. Thus, truth without disguise, and a scrupulous adherence to promises, became the distinguishing virtues of a gentleman. It is true, that the enthusiasm of protecting widows and orphans, degenerated sometimes into extravagance; witness knights who wandered about in quest of adventures. But it would be unfair to condemn the whole order, because a few of their number were foolish. The true spirit of chivalry produced undoubtedly a signal reformation in the manners of Europe. To
what

what other cause can we so justly ascribe the point of honour, and that humanity in war, which characterize modern manners (a)? Are peace, luxury, and selfishness, capable of producing such effects?

That man should be the only animal who makes war upon his own kind, may at first appear strange and unaccountable. Would men listen to cool reason, they never would make war. Hear the celebrated Rousseau on that subject. "Un prince, qui pour reculer ses frontières, perd autant de ses anciens sujets qu'il en acquiert de nouveaux, s'affoiblit en s'agrandissant; parce qu'avec un plus grand espace à défendre, il n'a pas plus de défenseurs. Or on ne peut ignorer, que par la manière dont la guerre se fait aujourd'hui, la moindre dépopulation qu'elle produit est celle qui se fait dans les armées: c'est bien-là la perte apparente et sensible; mais il s'en fait en même tems dans tout l'état une plus grave et plus irréparable que celle des hommes qui meurent, par ceux qui ne naissent pas, par l'augmentation des impôts, par l'interruption du commerce, par la désertion des campagnes, par l'abandon de l'agriculture; ce mal qu'on n'appareoit point d'abord, se fait sentir cruellement dans la suite: et c'est alors qu'on est étonné d'être si foible, pour s'être rendu si puissant. Ce qui rend encore les conquêtes moins intéressantes, c'est qu'on fait maintenant par quels moyens on peut doubler et tripler sa puissance, non seulement sans étendre son territoire, mais quelquefois en le resserrant, comme fit très sagement l'Empereur Adrien. On fait que ce sont les hommes seuls qui font la force des Rois; et c'est une proposition qui découle de ce que je viens de dire, que de deux états qui nourrissent le même nombre d'habitans, celui qui occupe une moindre étendue de terre, est réellement le plus puissant. C'est donc par de bonnes

(a) Dr Robertson's history of the Emperor Charles V.

“loix, par une sage police, par de grandes vues économiques, qu’un souverain judicieux est sûr d’augmenter ses forces, sans rien donner au hazard *.” But war is necessary for man, being a school for improving every manly virtue; and Providence renders kings blind with respect to their true interest, in order that war may sometimes take place. To rely upon Providence in the government of this world, is the wisdom of man.

Upon the whole, perpetual war is bad, because it converts men into beasts of prey: perpetual peace is worse, because it converts men into beasts of burden. To prevent such woful degeneracy on both hands, war and peace alternately are the only effectual means; and these means are adopted by Providence.

* “A prince, who in extending his territories sustains the loss of as many of his old subjects as he acquires new, weakens in fact his power while he aims at strengthening it: he increases the territory to be defended, while the number of defenders is not increased. Who does not know, that in the modern manner of making war, the greatest depopulation is not from the havock made in the armies? That indeed is the obvious and apparent destruction; but there is, at the same time, in the state a loss much more severe and irreparable; not that thousands are cut off, but that thousands are not born: population is wounded by the increase of taxes, by the interruption of commerce, by the desertion of the country, and by the stagnation of agriculture: the misfortune which is overlooked at first, is severely felt in the event; and it is then that we are astonished to find we have been growing weak, while increasing our power. What renders every new conquest still the less valuable, is the consideration of the possibility of doubling and tripling a nation’s power, without extending its territory, nay, even by diminishing it. The Emperor Adrian knew this, and wisely practised it. The numbers of the subjects are the strength of the prince: and a consequence of what I have said is this proposition, That of two states equal in the number of inhabitants, that is in reality the more powerful which occupies the smaller territory. It is by good laws, by a salutary police, and great economical schemes, that a wise sovereign gains a sure augmentation of strength, without trusting any thing to the fortune of his arms.”

S K E T C H

S K E T C H VII.

Rise and Fall of PATRIOTISM.

THE members of a tribe, in their original state of hunting and fishing, being little united but by a common language, have no notion of a *patria*; and scarce any notion of society, unless when they join in an expedition against an enemy, or against wild beasts. The shepherd-state, where flocks and herds are possessed in common, gives a clear notion of a common interest; but still none of a *patria*. The sense of a *patria* begins to unfold itself, when a people leave off wandering, to settle upon a territory which they call their own. Agriculture connects them together; and government still more: they become fellow-citizens; and the territory is termed the *patria* of every person born in it. It is so ordered by Providence, that a man's country, and his countrymen, are to him in conjunction an object of a peculiar affection, termed *amor patriæ*, or *patriotism*; an affection that rises high among a people intimately connected by regular government, by husbandry, by commerce, and by a common interest. "Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est: pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere *?"

* "Our parents are dear to us; so are our children, our relations, and our friends: all these our country comprehends; and shall we fear to die for our country?"

Social

Social passions and affections, beside being greatly more agreeable than selfish, are those only which command our esteem ^(a). Patriotism stands at the head of social affections; and stands so high in our esteem, that no actions but what proceed from it are termed grand or heroic. When that affection appears so agreeable in contemplation, how sweet, how elevating, must it be in those whom it inspires! Like vigorous health, it beats constantly with an equal pulse: like the vestal fire, it never is extinguished. No source of enjoyment is more plentiful than patriotism, where it is the ruling passion: it triumphs over every selfish motive, and is a firm support to every virtue. In fact, where-ever it prevails, the morals of the people are found to be pure and correct.

These are illustrious effects of patriotism with respect to private happiness and virtue; and yet its effects with respect to the public are still more illustrious. A nation in no other period of its progress is so flourishing, as when patriotism is the ruling passion of every member: during that period, it is invincible. Athenæus remarks, that the Athenians were the only people in the world, who, tho' clothed in purple, put formidable armies to flight at Marathon, Salamine, and Platea. But at that period patriotism was their ruling passion; and success attended them in every undertaking. Where patriotism rules, men do wonders, whatever garb they wear. The fall of Saguntum is a grand scene; a people exerting the utmost powers of nature, in defence of their country. The city was indeed destroyed; but the citizens were not subdued. The last effort of the remaining heroes was, to burn themselves; with their wives and children, in one great funeral pile. Numantia affords a scene not less grand. The citizens, such as were able to bear arms, did not exceed 8000; and yet braved all the efforts of 60,000 disciplined soldiers commanded by Scipio

(a) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 113. edit. 5.

Nasica. So high was their character for intrepidity, that even when but a few of them were left alive, the Romans durst not attempt to storm the town. And they stood firm till, subdued by famine, they were no longer able to crawl. While the Portuguese were eminent for patriotism, López Carasco, one of their sea-captains, in a single ship with but forty men, stumbled upon the King of Achin's fleet of twenty gallies, as many junks, and a multitude of small vessels. Resolute to perish rather than yield, he maintained the fight for three days, till his ship was pierced through and through with cannon-shot, and not a single man left unwounded. And yet, after all, the King's fleet found it convenient to sheer off.

Patriotism at the same time is the great bulwark of civil liberty; equally abhorrent of despotism on the one hand, and of licentiousness on the other. While the despotic government of the Tudor family subsisted, the English were too much depressed to have any affection for their country. But when manufactures and commerce began to flourish in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, a national spirit broke forth, and patriotism made some figure. That change of disposition was perhaps the chief cause, tho' not the most visible, of the national struggles for liberty, which were frequent during the government of the Stewart family, and which ended in a free government at the Revolution.

Patriotism is too much cramped in a very small state, and too much relaxed in an extensive monarchy. But that topic has already been discussed in the first sketch of this book.

Patriotism is enflamed by a struggle for liberty, by a civil war, by resisting a potent invader, or by any incident that forcibly draws the members of a state into strict union for the common interest. The resolute opposition of the seven provinces to Philip II. of Spain, in the cause of liberty, is an illustrious instance of the patriotic spirit rising to a degree of enthusiasm. Patriotism, roused

fed among the Corficans by the oppreffion of the Genoefe, exerted itfelf upon every proper object. Even during the heat of the war, they erected an univerfity for arts and fciences, a national bank, and a national library; improvements that would not have been thought of in their torpid ftate. Alas! they have fallen a victim to thirft of power, not to fuperior valour. Had Providence favoured them with fuccefs, their figure would have been confiderable in peace as in war*.

But violent commotions cannot be perpetual: one party prevails, and profperity follows. What effect may this have on patriotifm? I anfwer, that nothing is more animating than fuccefs after a violent ftuggle: a nation in that ftate refembles a comet, which in paffing near the fun, has been much heated, and continues full of motion. Patriotifm made a capital figure among the Athenians, when they became a free people, after expelling the tyrant Pififtratus. Every man exerted himfelf for his country: every man endeavoured to excell thofe who went before him: and hence a Miltiades, an Ariftides, a Themiftocles, names that for ever will figure in the annals of time. While the Roman republic was confined within narrow bounds, austeriy of manners, and difinterefted love to their country, formed the national character. The elevation of the Patricians above the Plebeians, a

* The elevation of fentiment that a ftuggle for liberty infpires, is conspicuous in the following incident. A Corfican being condemned to die for an atrocious crime, his nephew with deep concern addreffed Paoli in the following terms. "Sir, if you pardon my uncle, his relations will give to the ftate a thoufand zechins, be-
" fide furnifhing fifty foldiers during the fieve of Furiali. Let him be banifhed,
" and he fhall never return." Paoli, knowing the virtue of the young man, faid to him. "You are acquainted with the circumftances of that cafe: I will confent
" to a pardon, if you can fay, as an honeft man, that it will be juft or honourable
" for Corfica." The young man, hiding his face, burft into tears, faying, "I
" would not have the honour of our country fold for a thoufand zechins."

fource

source of endless discord, was at last remedied by placing all the citizens upon a level. This signal revolution excited an animating emulation between the Patricians and Plebeians; the former, by heroic actions, labouring to maintain their superiority; the latter straining every nerve to equal them: the republic never at any other period produced so great men in the art of war.

But such variety there is in human affairs, that tho' men are indebted to emulation for their heroic actions, yet actions of that kind never fail to suppress emulation in those who follow. An observation is made above (a), that nothing is more fatal to the progress of an art, than a person of superior genius, who damps emulation in others: witness the celebrated Newton, to whom the decay of mathematical knowledge in Britain is justly attributed. The observation holds equally with respect to action. Those actions only that flow from patriotism are deemed grand and heroic; and such actions, above all others, rouse a national spirit. But beware of a Newton in heroism: instead of exciting emulation, he will damp it: despair to equal the great men who are the admiration of all men, puts an end to emulation. After the illustrious achievements of Miltiades, and after the eminent patriotism of Aristides, we hear no more in Greece of emulation or of patriotism. Pericles was a man of parts, but he sacrificed Athens to his ambition. The Athenians sunk lower and lower under the Archons, who had neither parts nor patriotism; and were reduced at last to slavery, first by the Macedonians, and next by the Romans. The Romans run the same course, from the highest exertions of patriotic emulation, down to the most abject selfishness and effeminacy.

And this leads to other causes that extinguish patriotism, or relax it. Factious disorders in a state never fail to relax it; for

(a) Book 1. sketch 5. § 1.

there the citizen is lost, and every person is beheld in the narrow view of a friend or an enemy. In the contests between the Patricians and Plebeians of Rome, the public was totally disregarded: the Plebeians could have no heart-affection for a country where they were oppressed; and the Patricians might be fond of their own order, but they could not sincerely love their country, while they were enemies to the bulk of their countrymen. Patriotism did not shine forth in Rome, till all equally became citizens.

To support patriotism, it is necessary that a people be in a train of prosperity: when a nation becomes stationary, patriotism subsides. The ancient Romans upon a small foundation erected a great empire; so great indeed, that it fell to pieces by its unwieldiness. But the plurality of nations, whether from their situation, from the temper of their people, or from the nature of their government, are confined within narrower limits; beyond which their utmost exertions avail little, unless they happen to be extraordinary favourites of fortune. When a nation becomes thus stationary, its pushing genius is at an end: its plan is to preserve, not to acquire: the members, even without any example of heroism to damp emulation, are infected with the languid tone of the state: patriotism subsides; and we hear no more of bold or heroic actions. The Venetians are a pregnant instance of the observation. Their trade with Aleppo and Alexandria did for centuries introduce into Europe the commodities of Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and India. The cities of Nuremberg and Augs-burg in particular, were supplied from Venice with these commodities; and by that traffick became populous and opulent. Venice, in a word, was for centuries the capital trading town of Europe, and powerful above all its neighbours, both at sea and land. A passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was indeed an animating discovery to the Portuguese; but it did not entitle them to exclude the Venetians. The greater distance of Venice
from

from the Cape, a trifle in itself, is more than balanced by its proximity to Greece, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and to the rest of Italy. But the Portuguese at that period were in the spring of prosperity; and patriotism invigorated them to make durable establishments on the Indian coast, overpowering every nation that stood in opposition. The Venetians, on the contrary, being a nation of merchants, and having been long successful in commerce, were become stationary, and unqualified for bold adventures. Being cut out of their wonted commerce to India, and not having resolution to carry on commerce in a new channel, they sunk under the good fortune of their rivals, and abandoned the trade altogether.

No cause hitherto mentioned hath such influence in depressing patriotism, as inequality of rank and of riches in an opulent monarchy. A continual influx of wealth into the capital, generates show, luxury, avarice, which are all selfish vices; and selfishness, enslaving the mind, eradicates every fibre of patriotism*. Asiatic luxury, flowing into Rome in a plentiful stream, produced an universal corruption of manners, and metamorphos'd into voluptuousness the warlike genius of that great city. The dominions of Rome were now too extensive for a republican government, and its generals too powerful to be disinterested. Passion for glory wore out of fashion, as austerity of manners had done formerly: power and riches were now the only objects of ambition: virtue seemed a farce; honour, a chimera; and fame, mere vanity: every Roman, abandoning himself to sensuality, flattered himself, that he, more wise than his forefathers, was pursuing the cunning road to happiness. Corruption and venality became

* France is not an exception. The French are vain of their country, because they are vain of themselves. But such vanity must be distinguished from patriotism, which consists in loving our country independent of ourselves.

general,

general, and maintained their usurpation in the provinces as well as in the capital, without ever losing a foot of ground. Pyrrhus attempted by presents to corrupt the Roman senators, but made not the slightest impression. Deplorable was the change of manners in the days of Jugurtha:—"Pity it is," said he, "that no man is so opulent as to purchase a people so willing to be sold." Cicero, mentioning an oracle of Apollo, that Sparta would never be destroy'd but by avarice, justly observes, that the prediction holds in every nation as well as in Sparta. The Greek empire, sunk in voluptuousness without a remaining spark of patriotism, was no match for the Turks, enflamed with a new religion, that promised paradise to those who should die fighting for their prophet. How many nations, like those mentioned, illustrious formerly for vigour of mind, and love to their country, are now sunk by contemptible vices as much below brutes as they ought to be elevated above them: brutes seldom deviate from the perfection of their nature, men frequently.

Successful commerce is not more advantageous by the wealth and power it immediately bestows, than it is hurtful ultimately by introducing luxury and voluptuousness, which eradicate patriotism. In the capital of a great monarchy, the poison of opulence is sudden; because opulence there is seldom acquired by reputable means: the poison of commercial opulence is slow, because commerce seldom enriches without industry, sagacity, and fair dealing. But by whatever means acquired, opulence never fails soon or late to smother patriotism under sensuality and selfishness. We learn from Plutarch and other writers, that the Athenians, who had long enjoy'd the sunshine of commerce, were extremely corrupt in the days of Philip, and of his son Alexander. Even their chief patriot and orator, a professed champion for independence, was not proof against bribes. While Alexander was prosecuting his conquests in India, Harpalus, to whom his immense treasure

was

was intrusted, fled with the whole to Athens. Demosthenes advised his fellow-citizens to expell him, that they might not incur Alexander's displeasure. Among other things of value, there was the King's cup of massy gold, curiously engraved. Demosthenes, surveying it with a greedy eye, asked Harpalus what it weighed. To you, said Harpalus smiling, it shall weigh twenty talents; and that every night he sent privately to Demosthenes twenty talents with the cup. Demosthenes next day came into the assembly with a cloth rolled about his neck; and his opinion being demanded about Harpalus, he made signs that he had lost his voice. The Capuans, the Tarentines, and other Greek colonies in the lower parts of Italy, when invaded by the Romans, were no less degenerate than their brethren in Greece when invaded by Philip of Macedon; the same depravation of manners, the same luxury, the same passion for feasts and spectacles, the same intestine factions, the same indifference about their country, and the same contempt of its laws. The Portuguese, enflamed with love to their country, when they discovered a passage to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, made great and important settlements in that very distant part of the globe; and of their immense commerce there is no parallel in any age or country. Prodigious riches in gold, precious stones, spices, perfumes, drugs, and manufactures, were annually imported into Lisbon from their settlements on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, from the kingdoms of Camboya, Decan, Malacca, Patana, Siam, China, &c. from the islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Moluccas, and Japan: and to Lisbon all the nations in Europe resorted for these valuable commodities. But the downfall of the Portuguese was no less rapid than their exaltation; unbounded power and immense wealth having produced a total corruption of manners. If sincere piety, exalted courage, and indefatigable industry, made the original adventurers more than men; indolence, sensuality, and effeminacy, rendered

rendered their successors less than women. Unhappy it was for them to be attacked at that critical time by the Dutch, who, in defence of liberty against the tyranny of Spain, were enflamed with love to their country, as the Portuguese had been formerly *. The Dutch, originally from their situation a temperate and industrious people, became heroes in the cause of liberty as just now mentioned; and patriotism was their ruling passion. Prosperous commerce spread wealth through every corner; and yet such was the inherent virtue of that people, that their patriotism resisted very long the contagion of wealth. But as appetite for riches increases with their quantity, patriotism sunk in proportion, till it was totally extinguished; and now the Dutch never think of their country, unless as subservient to private interest. With respect to the Dutch East-India company in particular, it was indebted for its prosperity to the fidelity and frugality of its servants, and to the patriotism of all. But these virtues were undermined, and at last eradicated, by luxury, which Europeans seldom resist in a hot climate. People go from Europe in the service of the company, bent beforehand to make their fortune *per fas aut nefas*; and their distance from their masters renders every check abortive. The company, eat up by their servants, is rendered so feeble, as to be incapable of maintaining their ground against any extraordinary shock. A war of any continuance with the Indian potentates, or with the English company, would reduce them to bank-

* While patriotism was the ruling passion of the Portuguese, their illustrious general Don Alphonso d' Albuquerque carried all before him in the Indies. He adhered to the ancient frugality of his countrymen, and notwithstanding his great power and wealth, remained uncorrupted. Tho' liberal in praising his officers, he never preferred any who attempted to gain his favour by flattery. In private life he was of the strictest honour; but as justice is little regarded between nations, it was no obstruction to his ambitious views of extending the dominions of Portugal.

ruptcy. They are at present as ripe for being swallowed up by any rival power, as the Portuguese were formerly for being swallowed up by them. *Queritur*, Is the English East-India company in a much better condition? Such is the rise and fall of patriotism among the nations mentioned; and such will be its rise and fall among all nations in like circumstances.

It grieves me, that the epidemic distempers of luxury and selfishness are spreading wide in Britain. It is fruitless to dissemble, that profligate manners must in Britain be a consequence of too great opulence, as they have been in every other part of the globe. Our late distractions leave no room for a doubt. Listen to a man of figure, thoroughly acquainted with every machination for court-preferment. "Very little attachment is discoverable in the
 "body of our people to our excellent constitution: no reverence
 "for the customs nor for the opinions of our ancestors; no attachment but to private interest, nor any zeal but for selfish gratifications. While party-distinctions of Whig and Tory,
 "high church and low church, court and country, subsisted,
 "the nation was indeed divided, but each side held an opinion,
 "for which he would have hazarded every thing; for both acted
 "from principle: if there were some who sought to alter the
 "constitution, there were many who would have spilt their blood
 "to preserve it from violation: if divine hereditary right had its
 "partisans, there were multitudes to stand up for the superior
 "sanctity of a title founded on an act of parliament, and the consent of a free people. But the abolition of party-names, have
 "destroy'd all public principles. The power of the crown was
 "indeed never more visibly extensive over the great men of the
 "nation; but then these men have lost their influence over the
 "lower orders: even parliament has lost much of its authority;
 "and the voice of the multitude is set up against the sense of the
 "legislature: an impoverished and heavily-burdened public, a
 "people

“people luxurious and licentious, impatient of rule, and despising all authority, government relaxed in every finew, and a corrupt selfish spirit pervading the whole (a).” It is a common observation, that when the belly is full, the mind is at ease. That observation, it would appear, holds not in London; for never in any other place did riot and licentiousness rise to such a height, without a cause, and without even a plausible pretext*.

It is deplorable, that in English public schools, patriotism makes no branch of education; young men, on the contrary, are trained up to selfishness. *Keep what you get, and get what you can*, is the chief lesson inculcated at Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton. Students put themselves in the way of receiving vails from strangers; and that dirty practice continues, tho’ far more poisonous to manners, than the giving vails to menial servants, which the nation is now ashamed of. The Eaton scholars are at times sent to the highway to rob passengers. The strong without control tyrannize over the weak, subjecting them to every servile office, wiping shoes not excepted. They are permitted to trick and deceive one another; and the finest fellow is he who is the most artful. Friendship indeed is cultivated, but such as we find among robbers: a boy would be run down, if he had no associate. In a word, the most determined selfishness is the capital lesson.

When a nation, formerly warlike and public-spirited, is depressed by luxury and selfishness, doth nature afford no means for restoring it to its former state? The Emperor Hadrian declared the Greeks a free people; not doubting, but that a change so animating, would restore the fine arts to their pristine lustre.—A vain

(a) The Honourable George Greenville.

* This was composed in the year 1770.

attempt: for the genius of the Greeks vanished with their patriotism; and liberty to them was no blessing. With respect to the Portuguese, the decay of their power and of their commerce, have reduced them to a much lower condition, than when they rose as it were out of nothing. At that time they were poor, but innocent: at present they are poor, but corrupted with many vices. Their pride in particular swells as high as when masters of the Indies. The following ridiculous instance is a pregnant proof: shoes and stockings are prohibited to their Indian subjects; tho' many of them would pay handsomely for the privilege. There is one obvious measure for reviving the Portuguese trade in India; but they have not so much vigour of mind remaining, as even to think of execution. They still possess in that country, the town and territory of Goa, the town and territory of Diu, with some other ports, all admirably situated for trade. What stands in the way but indolence merely, against declaring the places mentioned free ports, with liberty of conscience to traders of whatever religion? Free traders flocking there, under protection of the Portuguese, would undermine the Dutch and English companies, which cannot trade upon an equal footing with private merchants; and by that means, the Portuguese trade might again flourish. But that people are not yet brought so low as to be compelled to change their manners, tho' reduced to depend on their neighbours even for common necessaries. The gold and diamonds of Brasil are a plague that corrupts all. Spain and Portugal afford instructive political lessons: the latter has been ruined by opulence; the former, as will be seen afterward, by taxes no less impolitic than oppressive. To enable these nations to recommence their former course, or any nation in the same situation, I can discover no means but pinching poverty. Commerce and manufactures taking wing, may leave a country in a very distressed condition: but a people may be very distressed, and yet very vitious;

for vices generated by opulence are not soon eradicated. And tho' other vices should at last vanish with the temptations that promoted them, indolence and pusillanimity will remain for ever, unless by some powerful cause the opposite virtues be introduced. A very poor man, however indolent, will be tempted for bread to exert some activity; and he may be trained gradually from less to more by the same means. Activity at the same time produces bodily strength; which will restore courage and boldness. By such means a nation may be put in motion with the same advantages it had originally; and its second progress may prove as successful as the first. Thus nations go round in a circle, from weakness to strength, and from strength to weakness. The first part of the progress is verified in a thousand instances; but the world has not subsisted long enough to afford any clear instance of the other.

I close this sketch with two illustrious examples of patriotism; one ancient, one modern; one among the whites, and one among the blacks. Aristides the Athenian is famed above all the ancients for love to his country. Its safety and honour were the only objects of his ambition; and his signal disinterestedness made it the same to him, whether these ends were accomplished by himself or by others, by his friends or his foes. One conspicuous instance occurred before the battle of Marathon. Of the ten generals chosen to command the Athenian army, he was one: but sensible that a divided command is subjected to manifold inconveniencies, he exerted all his influence for delegating the whole power to Miltiades; and at the same time zealously supported the proposal of Miltiades, of boldly meeting the Persians in the field. His disinterestedness was still more conspicuous with regard to Themistocles, his bitter enemy. Suspending all enmity, he cordially agreed with him in every operation of the war; assisting him with his counsel and credit, and yet suffering him to engross all the honours of victory. In peace he was the same, yielding to Themistocles

mistakes in the administration of government, and contenting himself with a subordinate place. In the senate and in the assembly of the people, he made many proposals in a borrowed name, to prevent envy and opposition. He retired from public business in the latter part of his life; passing his time in training young men for serving the state, instilling into them principles of honour and virtue, and inspiring them with love to their country. His death unfolded a signal proof of the contempt he had for riches: he who had been treasurer of Greece during the lavishment of war, left not sufficient to defray the expence of his funerals: a British commissary in like circumstances, acquires the riches of Croesus.

The scene of the other example is Fouli, a negro kingdom in Africa. Such regard is paid there to royal blood, that no man can succeed to the crown, but who is connected with the first monarch, by an uninterrupted chain of females: a connection by males would give no security, as the women of that country are prone to gallantry. In the last century, the Prince of Sambaboa, the King's nephew by his sister, was invested with the dignity of Kamalingo, a dignity appropriated to the presumptive heir. A liberal and generous mind, with undaunted courage, rivetted him in the affections of the nobility and people. They rejoiced in the expectation of having him for their King. But their expectation was blasted. The King, fond of his children, ventured a bold measure, which was, to invest his eldest son with the dignity of Kamalingo, and to declare him heir to the crown. Tho' the Prince of Sambaboa had for him the laws of the kingdom, and the hearts of the people, yet he retired in silence to avoid a civil war. He could not however prevent men of rank from flocking to him; which the King interpreting to be a rebellion, raised an army in order to put them all to the sword. As the King advanced, the Prince retired, resolving not to draw his sword

sword against an uncle, whom he was accustomed to call father. But finding that the command of the King's army was bestowed on his rival, he made ready for battle. The Prince obtained a complete victory: but his heart was not elated: the horrors of a civil war stared him in the face: he bid farewell to his friends, dismissed his army, and retired into a neighbouring kingdom; relying on the affections of the people to be placed on the throne after his uncle's death. During banishment, which continued thirty tedious years, frequent attempts upon his life, put his temper to a severe trial; for while he existed, the King had no hopes that his son would reign in peace. He had the fortitude to stand every trial; when, in the year 1702, beginning to yield to age and misfortunes, his uncle died. His cousin was deposed; and he was called by the unanimous voice of the nobles, to reign over a people who adored him.

S K E T C H

SKETCH VIII.

FINANCES.

PREFACE.

IN the following slight essay, intended for novices only, it is my sole ambition to rival certain pains-taking authors, who teach history in the perspicuous mode of question and answer. Among novices, it would be unpardonable to rank such of my fellow-citizens, as are ambitious of a seat in parliament; many of whom sacrifice the inheritance of their ancestors, for an opportunity to exert their patriotism in that august assembly. Can such a sacrifice permit me to doubt, of their being adepts in the mysteries of government, and of taxes in particular? they ought at least to be initiated in these mysteries.

It is of importance, that taxes, and their effects, be understood, not only by the members of our parliament, but also by their electors: a representative will not readily vote for a destructive tax, when he cannot hope to disguise his conduct. The intention of the present sketch, is to unfold the principles upon which taxes ought to be founded, and to point out what are beneficial, what noxious. I have endeavoured to introduce some light into a subject involved in Egyptian darkness; and if that end be attained, I shall die in the faith, that I have not been an unprofitable servant to my country.

FINANCES.

THis subject consists of many parts, not a little intricate. A proper distribution will tend to perspicuity; and I think it may be fitly divided into the following sections. 1st, General considerations on taxes. 2d, Power of imposing taxes. 3d, Different sorts of taxes, with their advantages and disadvantages. 4th, Manner of levying taxes. 5th, Rules to be observed in taxing. 6th, Examination of British taxes. 7th, Regulations for advancing industry and commerce.

SECTION I.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON TAXES.

AS opulence is not friendly to study and knowledge, the men best qualified for being generals, admirals, judges, or ministers of state, are seldom opulent; and to make such men serve without pay, would be in effect to ease the rich at the expence of the poor. With respect to the military branch in particular, the bulk of those who compose an army, if withdrawn from daily labour, must starve, unless the public, which they serve, afford them maintenance. A republican government, during peace, may indeed be supported at a very small charge among a temperate and patriotic people.

people. In a monarchy, a public fund is indispensable, even during peace: and in war it is indispensable, whatever be the government. The Spartans carried all before them in Greece, but were forc'd to quit their hold, having no fund for a standing army; and the other Greek states were obliged to confederate with the Athenians, who after the Persian war became masters at sea. A defect so obvious in the Spartan government, did assuredly not escape Lycurgus, the most profound of all legislators. Foreseeing that conquest would be destructive to his countrymen, his sole purpose was to guard them from being conquered; which in Sparta required no public fund, as all the citizens were equal, and equally bound to defend themselves and their country. A state, it is true, without a public fund, is ill qualified to oppose a standing army, regularly disciplined, and regularly paid. But in political matters, experience is our only sure guide; and the history of nations, at that early period, was too barren to afford instruction. Lycurgus may well be excused, considering how little progress political knowledge had made in a much later period. Charles VII. of France was the first in modern times who established a fund for a standing army. Against that dangerous innovation, the crown-vassals had no resource but to imitate their sovereign; and yet, without even dreaming of a resource, they suffered themselves to be undermined, and at last overturned, by the King their superior. Thus, on the one hand, a nation, however warlike, that has not a public fund, is no match for a standing army enured to war. Extensive commerce, on the other hand, enables a nation to support a standing army; but, by introducing luxury, it eradicates manhood, and renders that army an unfit match for any poor and warlike invader. Hard may seem the fate of nations, laid thus open to destruction from every quarter. All that can be said is, that the Deity never intended to stamp immortality upon any production of man.

The stability of land fits it, above all other subjects, for a public patrimony. But as crown-lands lie open to the rapacity of favourites, it becomes necessary, when these are dissipated, to introduce taxes; which have the following properties; that they unite in one common interest the sovereign and his subjects, and that they can be augmented or diminished according to exigencies.

The art of levying money by taxes was so little understood in the sixteenth century, that after the famous battle of Pavia, in which the French King was made prisoner, Charles V. was obliged to disband his victorious army, tho' consisting but of 24,000 men, because he had not the art to levy, in his extensive dominions, the sum that was necessary to keep it on foot. So little knowledge was there in England of political arithmetic in the days of Edward III. that L. 1 : 2 : 4 on each parish was computed to be sufficient for raising a subsidy of L. 50,000. It being found, that there were but 8700 parishes, exclusive of Wales, the parliament, in order to raise the said subsidy, assessed on each parish L. 5, 16 s.

In imposing taxes, ought not the expence of living to be deducted, leaving the remainder of a man's stock as the only taxable subject? This method was adopted in the state of Athens. A rent of 500 measures of corn, burdened the landlord with the yearly contribution of a talent: a rent of 300, burdened him with half a talent: a rent of 200, burdened him with the sixth part of a talent; and land under that rent paid no tax. Here the tax was not in proportion to the estate, but to what could be spared out of it; or, in other words, in proportion to the ability of the proprietor. At the same time, ability must not be estimated by what a man actually saves, which would exempt the profuse and profligate from paying taxes, but by what a man can pay who lives with economy according to his rank. This rule is founded on the very nature of government: to tax a man's food, or the subject that af-

fords him bare necessities, is worse than the denying him protection: it starves him. Hence the following proposition may be laid down as the corner-stone of taxation-building, "That every man ought to contribute to the public revenue, not in proportion to his substance, but to his ability." I am sorry to observe, that this rule is little regarded in British taxes; tho' nothing would contribute more to sweeten the minds of the people, and to make them fond of their government, than a regulation fraught with so much equity.

Taxes were long in use before it was discovered, that they could be made subservient to other purposes, beside that of supporting government. In the fifteenth century, the states of Burgundy rejected with indignation a demand made by the Duke of a duty on salt, tho' they found no other objection, but that it would oppress the poor people, who lived mostly on salt meat and salt fish. It did not occur to them, that such a tax might hurt their manufactures, by raising the price of labour. A tax of two shillings on every hearth, known by the name of *hearth-money*, was granted to Charles II. his heirs and successors, for ever. It was abrogated by an act of William and Mary, ann. 1688, on the following preamble, "That it is not only a great oppression upon the poorer sort, but a badge of slavery upon the whole people, exposing every man's house to be entered into and searched at pleasure by persons unknown to him." Had the harm done by such a tax to our manufactures been at that time understood, it would have been urged as the capital reason against the tax. Our late improvements in commercial politics have unfolded an important doctrine, That taxes are seldom indifferent to the public good; that frequently they are more oppressive to the people, than beneficial to the sovereign; and, on the other hand, that they may be so contrived, as to rival bounties in promoting industry, manufactures,

nufactures, and commerce. These different effects of taxes, have rendered the subject not a little intricate.

It is an article of importance in government, to have it ascertained, what proportion of the annual income of a nation may be drawn from the people by taxes, without impoverishing them. An eighth part is held to be too much: husbandry, commerce, and population, would suffer. Davenant says, that the Dutch pay to the public annually the fourth part of the income of their country; and he adds, that their strict economy enables them to bear that immense load, without raising the price of labour so high as to cut them out of the foreign market. It was probably so in the days of Davenant; but of late matters are much altered: the dearness of living and of labour, has excluded all the Dutch manufactures from the foreign market. Till the French war in King William's reign, England paid in taxes but about a twentieth part of its annual income.

S E C T. II.

POWER of IMPOSING TAXES.

THat to impose taxes belongs to the sovereign, and to him only, is undoubted. But it has been doubted, whether even King and parliament, who possess the sovereign authority in Britain, can legally impose a tax without consent of the people. The celebrated Locke, in his essay on government (a), lays down the following proposition as fundamental. " 'Tis true, governments

(a) Chap. II. § 140.

" cannot

“ cannot be supported without great charge, and 'tis fit every one
“ who enjoys his share of protection should pay out of his estate
“ his proportion for the maintenance of it. But still it must be
“ with his own consent, i. e. the consent of the majority, giving
“ it either by themselves, or their representatives chosen by them;
“ for if any one shall claim a power to lay and levy taxes on the
“ people by his own authority, and without such consent of the
“ people, he thereby invades the fundamental law of property,
“ and subverts the end of government. For what property have
“ I in that which another may by right take when he pleases to
“ himself?” No author has reflected more honour on his native
country, and on mankind, than Mr Locke. Yet no name is a-
bove truth; and I am obliged to observe, tho' with regret, that in
the foregoing reasoning the right of imposing taxes is laid upon a
very crazy foundation. It may indeed be said with some colour, that
the freeholders virtually empower their representatives to tax them.
But their vassals and tenants, who have no vote in electing members
of parliament, empower none to tax them: yet they are taxed like
others; and so are the vassals and tenants of peers. Add to these
an immense number of artificers, manufacturers, day-labourers,
domestics, &c. &c. with the whole female sex; and it will ap-
pear on calculation, that those who are represented in parliament
make not the hundredth part of the taxable people. But further,
it is acknowledged by our author, that the majority of the Lords
and Commons must bind the minority. This circumstance alone
might have convinced him of his error: for surely the minority
in this case are bound without their consent; nay, against their
consent. That a state cannot tax its subjects without their con-
sent, is a rash proposition, totally subversive of government.
Locke himself has suggested the solid foundation of taxes, tho' in-
advertently he lays no weight on it. I borrow his own words:
“ That every one who enjoys his share of protection, should pay
“ out

“out of his estate his proportion for the maintenance of the government.” The duties of sovereign and of subject are reciprocal; and common justice requires, that a subject, or any person who is protected by a government, ought to pay for that protection. Similar instances without number of such reciprocal duties, occur in the laws of every civilized nation. A man calls for meat and drink in a tavern: is he not bound to pay the bill, tho’ he made no agreement beforehand? A man is wafted over a river in a ferry-boat: must he not pay the common fare, though he made no promise? Nay, it is every man’s interest to pay for protection: government cannot subsist without a public fund; and what will become of individuals when no longer protected, either in their persons or goods? Thus taxes are implied in the very nature of government; and the interposition of sovereign authority is only necessary for determining the expediency of a tax; and the quota, if found expedient.

Many writers, misled by the respectable authority of Locke, boldly maintain, that a British parliament cannot legally tax the American colonies, who are not represented in parliament. This proposition, which has drawn the attention of the public of late years, has led me to be more explicit on the power of imposing taxes, than otherwise would be necessary. Those who favour the independence of our colonies urge, “That a man ought to have the disposal of what he acquires by honest industry, subject to no control: whence the necessity of a parliament for imposing taxes, where every individual is either personally present, or by a representative of his own election. The aid accordingly given to a British sovereign is not a tribute, but a free and voluntary gift.” What is said above will bring the dispute within a very narrow compass. If our colonists be British subjects, which hitherto has not been controverted, they are subjected to the British legislature in every article of government; and as from the beginning

ning they have been protected by Britain, they ought like other subjects to pay for that protection. There never was a time less favourable to their claim of freedom from taxes, than the close of the late war with France. Had not Britain seasonably interposed, they would have been swallow'd up by France, and become slaves to despotism.

If it be questioned, By what acts is a man understood to claim protection of a government; I answer, By setting his foot on the territory. If, upon landing at Dover, a foreigner be robbed, the law interposes for him as for a native. And as he is thus protected, he pays for protection when he purchases a pair of shoes, or a bottle of beer. The case is clear with respect to a man who can chuse the place of his residence. But what shall be said of children, who are not capable of choice, nor of consent? They are protected; and protection implies the reciprocal duty of paying taxes. As soon as a young man is capable of acting for himself, he is at liberty to chuse other protectors, if those who have hitherto protected him be not agreeable.

If a legal power to impose taxes without consent of the people, did necessarily imply a legal power to impose taxes at pleasure, without limitation, Locke's argument would be invincible, in a country of freedom at least. A power to impose taxes at pleasure, would indeed be an invasion of the fundamental law of property; because, under pretext of taxing, it would subject every man's property to the arbitrary will of the sovereign. But the argument has no weight, where the sovereign's power is limited. The reciprocal duties between sovereign and subject imply, that the people ought to contribute what sums are necessary for the support of government, and that the sovereign ought not to demand more. It is true, that there is no regular check against him, when he transgresses his duty in this particular: but there is an effectual check in the nature of every government that is not legally despotic, viz. a general

neral concert among all ranks, to vindicate their liberty against a course of violence and oppression; and multiplied acts of that kind have more than once brought about such a concert.

As every member of the body-politic is under protection of the government, every one of them, as observed above, ought to pay for being protected; and yet this proposition has been controverted by an author of some note (a); who maintains, "That the food and raiment furnished to the society by husbandmen and manufacturers, are all that these good people are bound to contribute: and supposing them bound to contribute more, it is not till others have done as much for the public." At that rate, lawyers and physicians ought also to be exempted from contributing; especially those who draw the greatest sums, because they are supposed to do the most good. That argument, the suggestion of a benevolent heart, is however no proof of an enlightened understanding. The labours of the farmer, of the lawyer, of the physician, contribute not a mite to the public fund, nor tend to defray the expence of government. The luxurious proprietor of a great estate has a still better title to be exempted than the husbandman, because he is a great benefactor to the public, by giving bread to a variety of industrious people. In a word, every man ought to contribute for being protected; and if a husbandman be protected in working for himself one-and-fifty weeks yearly, he ought thankfully to work one week more, for defraying the expence of that protection.

(a) *L'ami des hommes.*

S E C T. III.

DIFFERENT SORTS OF TAXES, with their Advantages and Disadvantages.

ALL taxes are laid upon persons; but in different respects: a tax laid on a man personally, for himself and family, is termed a *capitation-tax*; a tax laid on him for his property, is termed a *tax on goods*. The latter is the only rational tax, because it may be proportioned to the ability of the proprietor. It has only one inconvenience, that his debts must be overlooked; because to take these into the account, would lead to endless intricacies. But there is an obvious remedy for that inconvenience: let the man who complains, get quit of his debts, by selling land or moveables; which will so far relieve him of the tax. Nor ought this measure to be considered as a hardship: it is seldom the interest of a landholder to be in debt; and with respect to the public, the measure not only promotes the circulation of property, but is favourable to creditors, by procuring them payment. A capitation-tax goes upon an erroneous principle, as if all men were of equal ability. What prompts it is, that many men, rich in bonds and other moveables that can be easily hid from public inspection, cannot be reached otherwise than by a capitation-tax. But as, by the very supposition, such men cannot be distinguished from the mass of the people, that mode of taxing, as miserably unequal; is rarely practised among enlightened nations. Some years ago, a capitation-tax was imposed in Denmark, obliging even day-labourers to pay for their wives and children. Upon the

same absurd plan, a tax was imposed on marriage. One would be tempted to think, that population was intended to be discouraged. The Danish government, however, have been sensible of the impropriety of such taxes; for a tax imposed on those who obtain titles of honour from the crown, is applied for relieving husbandmen of their capitation-tax. But a tax of this kind lies open to many other objections. It cannot fail to raise the price of labour, a poisonous effect in a country of industry; for the labourer will relieve himself of the tax, by heightening his wages: more prudent it would be to lay the tax directly on the employer, which would remove the pretext for heightening wages. The taxing of day-labourers has beside an effect contrary to what is intended: instead of increasing the public revenue, it virtually lessens it, by raising the pay of soldiers, sailors, and of every workman employ'd by government.

Taxes upon goods are of two kinds, viz. upon things consumable, and upon things not consumable. I begin with the latter. The land-tax in Britain, paid by the proprietor according to an invariable rule, and levied with very little expence, is of all taxes the most just, and the most effectual. The proprietor, knowing beforehand the sum he is subjected to, prepares accordingly: and as each proprietor contributes in proportion to his estate, the tax makes no variation in their relative opulence. The only improvement it is susceptible of, is the Athenian regulation, of exempting small estates that are no more than sufficient to afford bread to the frugal proprietor. In France, the land-tax seems to have been established on a very false foundation, viz. That the clergy perform their duty to the state, by praying and instructing; that the noblesse fight for the state; and consequently, that the only duty left to the farmer, is to defray the charges of government. This argument would hold, if the clergy were not paid for praying, and the noblesse for fighting. Such a load upon the poorest members

bers of the state, is an absurdity in politics. And to render it still more absurd, the tax on the farmer is not imposed by an invariable rule: every one is taxed in proportion to his apparent circumstances, which in effect is to tax industry. Nor is this all. Under pretext of preventing famine, the exporting of corn, even from province to province, is frequently interrupted; by which it happens, that the corn of a plentiful year is destroyed by insects, and in a year of scarcity is engrossed by merchants. Suppose a plan were requested for discouraging agriculture, here is one actually put in execution, the success of which is infallible. "Were it related," observes a French writer, "in some foreign history, that there is "a country extremely fertile, in a fine climate, enjoying navigable rivers, with every advantage for the commerce of corn; "and yet that the product is not sufficient for the inhabitants: "would not one conclude the people to be stupid and barbarous? "This however is the case of France." He adds the true reason, which is, the discouragement husbandry lies under by oppressive taxes. We have Diodorus Siculus for our authority, that the husbandman was greatly respected in Hindostan. Among other nations, says he, the land during war lies untilled; but in Hindostan, husbandmen are sacred, and no soldier ventures to lay a hand on them. They are considered as servants of the public, who cannot be dispensed with.

It is a gross error to maintain, that a tax on land is the same with a tax on the product of land. The former, which is the English mode, is no discouragement to industry and improvements: on the contrary, the higher the value of land is raised, the less will the tax be in proportion. The latter, which is the French mode, is a great discouragement to industry and improvements; because the more a man improves, the deeper he is taxed. The tenth part of the product of land, is the only tax that is paid in China. This tax, of the same nature with our tithes paid to the clergy,

clergy, yields to the British mode of taxing the land itself, and not its product; but is less exceptionable than the land-tax in France, because it is not arbitrary. The Chinese tax, paid in kind, is stored in magazines, and sold from time to time for maintaining the magistrates and the army, the surplus being remitted to the treasury. In case of famine, it is sold to the poor people at a moderate price. In Tonquin, there is a land-tax, which, like that in France, is laid upon the peasants, exempting people of condition, and the literati in particular. Many grounds that bear not corn, contribute hay for the king's elephants and cavalry; which the poor peasants are obliged to carry to the capital, even from the greatest distance; a regulation no less slavish than impolitic.

The window-tax, the coach-tax, and the plate-tax, come under the present head, being taxes upon things not consumable. In Holland there is a tax on domestic servants, which deserves well to be imitated. Vanity in Britain, and love of show, have multiplied domestics, far beyond necessity, and even beyond convenience. A number of idlers collected in a luxurious family, become vicious and debauched; and many useful hands are withdrawn from husbandry and manufactures. In order that the tax may reach none but the vain and splendid, those who have but one servant pay nothing: two domestics subject the master to five shillings for each, three to ten shillings for each, four to twenty shillings, five to forty shillings, and so on in a geometrical progression. In Denmark, a farmer is taxed for every plough he uses. If the tax be intended for discouraging extensive farms, it is a happy contrivance, agreeable to sound politics; for small farms tend not only to population, but to rear a temperate and robust species of men, fit for every sort of labour.

Next of taxes upon things consumable. The taxes that appear the least oppressive, because disguised, are what are laid on our manufactures:

manufactures: the tax is advanced by the manufacturer, and drawn from the purchaser as part of the price. In Rome a tax was laid upon every man who purchased a slave. It is reported by some authors, that the tax was remitted by the Emperor Nero; and yet no alteration was made, but to oblige the vender to advance the tax. Hear Tacitus on that subject (a). "*Vestigal quintæ et vicefimæ venalium mancipiorum remissum, specie magis quam vi; quia cum venditor pendere juberetur, in partem pretii emptoribus accrescebat **." Thus, with respect to our taxes on soap, shoes, candles, and other things consumable, the purchaser thinks he is only paying the price, and never dreams that he is paying a tax. To support the illusion, the duty ought to be moderate: to impose a tax twenty times the value of the commodity, as is done in France with respect to salt, raises more disgust in the people as an attempt to deceive them, than when laid on without disguise. Such exorbitant taxes, which are paid with the utmost reluctance, cannot be made effectual but by severe penalties, equal to what are inflicted on the most atrocious criminals; which has a bad effect with respect to morals, as it tends to lessen the horror one naturally conceives at great crimes.

Such taxes are attended with another signal advantage: they bear a strict proportion to the ability of the contributors, the opulent being commonly the greatest consumers. The taxes on coaches and on plate are paid by men of fortune, without loading the industrious poor; and on that account are highly to be

* "The tax of a twenty-fifth upon slaves to be sold, was remitted more in appearance than in reality; because when the seller was ordered to pay it, he laid it upon the price to the buyer."

(a) *Annal. lib. 13.*

praised:

praised: being imposed however without disguise, they are paid with more reluctance by the rich, than taxes on consumption are by the poor.

I add one other advantage of taxes on consumption. They are finely contrived to connect the interest of the sovereign with that of his subjects; for his profit arises from their prosperity.

Such are the advantages of a tax on consumption; but it must not be praised, as attended with no inconvenience. The retailer, under pretext of the tax, raises the price higher than barely to indemnify himself; by which means the tax is commonly doubled upon the consumer. The inconvenience however is but temporary. "Such extortion," says Davenant, "cannot last long; for every commodity in common use finds in the market its true value and price."

There is another inconvenience much more distressing, because it admits not a remedy, and because it affects the state itself. Taxes on consumption, being commonly laid on things of the greatest use, raise a great sum to the public, without much burdening individuals; the duty on coal, for example, on candle, on leather, on soap, on salt, on malt, and on malt-liquor. These duties however carry in their bosom a slow poison, by raising the price of labour and of manufactures. De Wit observes, that the Dutch taxes upon consumption have raised the price of their broad cloth forty *per cent.*; and our manufactures by the same means are raised at least thirty *per cent.* Britain has long laboured under this chronical distemper, which, by excluding her from foreign markets, will not only put an end to her own manufactures, but will open a wide door to the foreign, as smuggling cannot be prevented where commodities imported are much cheaper than our own.

Nor ought it to be overlooked, that taxes on consumption are not equally proper in every situation. They are proper in a popu-
lous

lous country, like Holland; because the expence of collecting is but a trifle, compared with the sums collected. But in a country thinly peopled, such taxes are improper; because the expence of collecting makes too great a proportion of the sums collected: in the highlands of Scotland, the excise on ale and spirits defrays not the expence of levying; the people are burdened, and the government is not supported.

A lottery is a sort of tax different from any that have been mentioned. It is a tax, of all the most agreeable, being entirely voluntary. An appetite for gaming, inherent even in savages, prompts multitudes to venture their money in hopes of the highest prize; tho' they cannot altogether hide from themselves the inequality of the play. But lucky it is, that the selfish passions of men can be made subservient to the public good. Lotteries however produce one unhappy effect: they blunt the edge of industry, by directing the attention to a more compendious method of gain. At the same time, the money acquired by a lottery, seldom turns to account; for what comes without trouble, goes commonly without thought.

S E C T. IV.

MANNER OF LEVYING TAXES.

TO avoid the rapacity of farmers, a mild government will, in most cases, prefer management; i. e. it will levy taxes by officers appointed for that purpose. Montesquieu (*a*) has handled that point with his usual sprightly elegance.

(a) L'Esprit des loix, liv. 13. ch. 19.

Importation-duties are commonly laid upon the importer before the cargo is landed, leaving him to add the duty to the price of the goods ; and the facility of levying, is the motive for preferring that method. But is it not hard, that the importer should be obliged to advance a great sum in name of duty, before drawing a shilling by the sale of his goods ? It is not only hard, but grossly unjust : for if the goods perish without being sold, the duty is lost to the importer ; he has no claim against the public for restitution. This has more the air of despotism than of a free government. Would it not be more equitable, that the goods should be lodged in a public warehouse, under custody of revenue-officers, the importer paying the duty as goods are sold ? According to the present method, the duty remains with the collector three years, in order to be repaid to the importer, if the goods be exported within that time : but by the method proposed, the duty would be paid to the treasury as goods are sold, which might be within a month from the time of importation, perhaps a week ; and the treasury would profit, as well as the fair trader. There are public warehouses adjoining to the customhouse of Bourdeaux, where the sugars of the French colonies are deposited, till the importer finds a market ; and he pays the duty gradually as sales are made. It rejoices me, that the same method is practised in this island with respect to some foreign articles necessary in our trade with Africa : the duty is not demanded till the goods are shipped for that continent. It is also put in practice with respect to foreign salt, and with respect to rum imported from our sugar-colonies.

Beside the equity of what is here proposed, which relieves the importer from advance of money, and from risk, many other advantages would be derived from it. In the first place, the merchant, having no occasion to reserve any portion of his capital for answering the duty, would be enabled to commence trade with a
small

small stock, or to encrease his trade if his stock be large: trade would flourish, and the public revenue would encrease in proportion. Secondly, It would lessen smuggling. Many a one who commences trade with upright intention, is tempted to smuggle for want of ready money to pay the duty. Thirdly, This manner of levying the duty, would not only abridge the number of officers, but remove every pretext for claiming discount on pretence of leakage, samples, and the drying or shrinking of goods. In the present manner of levying, that discount must be left to the discretion of the officer: a private understanding is thus introduced between him and the merchant, hurtful to the revenue, and destructive to morals. Fourthly, The merchant would be enabled to lower his prices, and be forc'd to lower them by having many rivals; which at the same time would give access to augment importation-duties, without raising the price of foreign commodities above what it is at present. But the capital advantage of all would be, to render in effect every port in Britain a free port, enabling English merchants, many of whom have great capitals, to outstrip foreigners in what is termed a *commerce of speculation*. This island is well situated for such commerce; and were our ports free, the productions of all climates would be stored up in them, ready for exportation when a market offers; an excellent plan for encreasing our shipping, and for producing boundless wealth.

S E C T. V.

RULES TO BE OBSERVED in TAXING.

THE different objects of taxes, and the intricacy thereby occasioned, require general rules, not only for directing the legislature in imposing them, but for enabling others to judge what are beneficial, and what hurtful.

The first rule I shall suggest is, That where-ever there is an opportunity of smuggling, taxes ought to be moderate; for smuggling can never effectually be restrained, where the cheapness of imported goods is in effect an insurance against the risk; in which view, Swift humorously observes, that two and two do not always make four. A duty of 15 *per cent.* upon printed linen imported into France, encourages smuggling: a lower duty would produce a greater sum to the public, and be more beneficial to the French manufacturer. Bone-lace imported into France is charged with a duty of 20 *per cent.* in order to favour that manufacture at home: but in vain; for bone-lace is easily smuggled, and the price is little higher than before. The high duty on *succus liquoritæ* imported into Britain, being L. 7 : 2 : 6 *per.* hundred weight, was a great encouragement to smuggling; for which reason it is reduced to 30 s. *per* hundred weight (a).

The smuggling of tea, which extracts great sums from Britain, is much encouraged by its high price at home. As far as I can judge, it would be profitable, both to the public and to individuals, to lay aside the importation-duty, and to substitute in its

(a) 7° Geo. III. cap. 47.

stead a duty on the consumer. Freedom of importation would enable the East-India company to sell so cheap, as effectually to banish smuggling; and the low price of tea would enable the consumer to pay a pretty smart duty, without being much out of pocket. The following mode is proposed merely as an example: it is a hint that may lead to improvements. Let every man who uses tea be subjected to a moderate tax, proportioned to his mode of living. Absolute precision cannot be expected in proportioning the tax on families; but gross inequality may easily be prevented. For instance, let the mode of living be determined by the equipage that is kept. A coach or chaise with two horses shall subject a family to a yearly tax of L. 10, heightening the tax in proportion to the number of horses and carriages; two servants in livery, without a carriage, to a tax of 40 s.; every other family paying 20 s. Every family where tea is used must be entered in the collector's books, with its mode of living, under a heavy penalty; which would regulate the coach-tax, as well as that on tea. Such a tax, little expensive in levying, would undoubtedly be effectual: a master of a family is imprudent indeed, if he put it in the power of the vender, of a malicious neighbour, or of a menial servant, to subject him to a heavy penalty. This tax at the same time would be the least disagreeable of any that is levied without disguise; being in effect a voluntary tax, as the mode of living is voluntary. Nor would it be difficult to temper the tax, so as to afford a greater sum to the public than it receives at present from the importation-duty, and yet to cost our people no more for tea than they pay at present, taking into computation the high price of that commodity.

High duties on importation are immoral, as well as impolitic; and it would be unjustifiable in the legislature, first to tempt, and then to punish for yielding to the temptation.

A second rule is, That taxes expensive in the levying ought to be avoided;

avoided ; being heavy on the people, without a proportional benefit to the revenue. Our land-tax is admirable: it affords a great sum, levied with very little expence. The duties on coaches, and on gold and silver plate, are similar; and so would be the tax on tea above proposed. The taxes that are the most hurtful to trade and manufactures, such as the duty on soap, candle, leather, are expensive in levying.

A third rule is, To avoid arbitrary taxes. They are disgusting to all, not excepting those who are favourably treated ; because self-partiality seldom permits a man to think, that justice is done him in such matters. A tax laid on persons in proportion to their trade, or their opulence, must be arbitrary, even where strict justice is intended ; because it depends on the vague opinion or conjecture of the collector: every man thinks himself injured ; and the sum levied does not balance the discontent it occasions. The tax laid on the French farmer in proportion to his substance, is an intolerable grievance, and a great engine of oppression ; if the farmer exert any activity in meliorating his land, he is sure to be doubly taxed. Hamburgh affords the only instance of a tax on trade and riches, that is willingly paid, and that consequently is levied without oppression. Every merchant puts privately into the public chest, the sum that in his own opinion he ought to contribute : A singular example of integrity in a great trading town ; for there is no suspicion of wrong in that tacit contribution. But this state is not yet corrupted by luxury.

Because many vices that poison a nation, arise from inequality of riches ; I propose it as a fourth rule, to remedy that inequality as much as possible, by relieving the poor, and burdening the rich. Proprietors of overgrown estates, can bear without inconvenience very heavy taxes ; and those especially who convert much land from profit to pleasure, ought not to be spared. Would it not contribute greatly to the public good, that a tax of L. 50 should

should be laid on every house that has 50 windows; L. 150 on houses of 100 windows; and L. 400 on houses of 200 windows? By the same principle, every deer-park of 200 acres ought to pay L. 50; of 500 acres L. 200; and of 1000 acres L. 600. Fifty acres of pleasure ground to pay L. 30; 100 such acres L. 80; 150 acres L. 200; and 200 acres L. 300. Such a tax would have another good effect: it would probably move high-minded men to leave out more ground for maintenance of the poor, than they are commonly inclined to do.

A fifth rule of capital importance, as it regards the interest of the state in general is, That every tax which tends to impoverish the nation ought to be rejected with indignation. Such taxes contradict the very nature of government, which is to protect, not to oppress. And supposing the interest of the governing power to be only regarded, a state is not measured by the extent of its territory, but by what the subjects are able to pay annually without end. A sovereign, however regardless of his duty as father of his people, will regard that rule for his own sake: a nation impoverished by oppressive taxes, will reduce the sovereign at last to the same poverty; for he cannot levy what they cannot pay.

Whether taxes imposed on common necessities, which fall heavy upon the labouring poor, be of the kind now mentioned, deserves the most serious consideration. Where they tend to promote industry, they are highly salutary: where they deprive us of foreign markets, by raising the price of labour, and of manufactures, they are highly noxious. In some cases, industry may be promoted by taxes, without raising the price of labour and of manufactures. Tobolski in Siberia is a populous town, the price of vivres is extremely low, and the people on that account are extremely idle. While they are masters of a farthing, they work none: when they are pinched with hunger, they gain in a day what maintains them a week: they never think of to-morrow, nor of providing against want. A tax there upon necessities would

would probably excite some degree of industry. Such a tax, renewed from time to time, and augmented gradually, would promote industry more and more, so as to squeeze out of that lazy people three, four, or even five days labour weekly, without raising their wages, or the price of their work. But beware of a general rule. The effect would be very different in Britain, where moderate labour, without much relaxation, is requisite for living comfortably: in every such case, a permanent tax upon necessities will not fail in time to raise the price of labour. It is true, that in a single year of scarcity there is commonly more labour, and even better living, than in plentiful years. But suppose scarcity to continue a number of years successively, or suppose a permanent tax on necessities, wages must rise till the labourer find comfortable living: if the employer obstinately stand out, the labourer will in despair abandon work altogether, and commence beggar; or will retire to a country less burdened with taxes. Hence a salutary doctrine, That where expence of living equals, or nearly equals, what is gained by bodily labour, moderate taxes renewed from time to time after considerable intervals, will promote industry, without raising the price of labour; but that permanent taxes will unavoidably raise the price of labour, and of manufactures. In Holland, the high price of provisions and of labour, occasioned by permanent taxes, have excluded from the foreign market every one of their manufactures that can be supplied by other nations. Heavy taxes have put an end to their once flourishing manufactures of wool, of silk, of gold and silver, and many others. The prices of labour and of manufactures have in England been immoderately raised by the same means.

To prevent a total downfall of our manufactures, several political writers have given their opinion, that the labouring poor ought to be disburdened of all taxes. The royal tithe proposed for France, instead of all other taxes, published in the name of

Marechal

Mareschal Vauban, or such a tax laid upon land in England, might originally have produced wonders. But the expedient would now come too late, at least in England: such profligacy have the poor-rates produced among the lower ranks, that to relieve them from taxes, would probably make them work less, but assuredly would not make them work cheaper. It is vain therefore to think of a remedy against idleness and high wages, while the poor-rates subsist in their present form. Davenant pronounces, that the English poor-rates will in time be the bane of their manufactures. He computes, that the persons receiving alms in England amount to one million and two hundred thousand, the half of whom at least would have continued to work, had they not relied on parish-charity. But of this more at large in a separate sketch.

Were the poor-rates abolished, a general act of naturalization would not only augment the strength of Britain, by adding to the number of its people, but would compel the natives to work cheaper, and consequently to be more industrious.

If these expedients be not relished, the only one that remains for preserving our manufactures is, to encourage their exportation by a bounty, such as may enable us to cope with our rivals in foreign markets. But where is the fund for a bounty so extensive? It may be raised out of land, like the Athenian tax above mentioned, burdening great proprietors in a geometrical proportion, and freeing those who have not above L. 100 of land-rent. That tax would raise a great sum to the public, without any real loss to those who are burdened; for comparative riches would remain the same as formerly. Nay such a tax would in time prove highly beneficial to land-proprietors; for by promoting industry and commerce, it would raise the rent of land much above the contribution. Can money be laid out so advantageously at common interest? And to reconcile land-holders to the tax, may it
not

not be thought sufficient, that, without a bounty, our foreign commerce must vanish, and land be reduced to its original low value? Can any man hesitate about paying a shilling, when it secures him against losing a pound?

I shall close with a rule of deeper concern than all that have been mentioned, which is, To avoid taxes that require the oath of party. They are *contra bonas mores*, as being a temptation to perjury. Few there are so wicked, as to hurt others by perjury: at the same time, there are not many of the lower ranks so upright, as to scruple much at perjury, when it prevents hurt to themselves. Consider the duty on candle. Those only who brew for sale, pay the duty on malt-liquor; and to avoid the brewer's oath, the quantity is ascertained by officers who attend the process. But the duty on candle is oppressive, not only as comprehending poor people who make no candle for sale, but as subjecting them to give oath on the quantity they make for their own use. Figure a poor widow, burdened with five or six children: she is not permitted to make ready a little food for her infants, by the light of a rag dipped in grease, without paying what she has not to pay, or being guilty of perjury. However upright originally, poverty and anxiety about her infants will tempt her to conceal the truth, and to deny upon oath:—a sad lesson to her poor children: ought they to be punished for copying after their mother, whom they love and revere? whatever she does appears right in their eyes. The manner of levying the salt-tax in France is indeed arbitrary; but it is not productive of immorality: an oath is avoided; and every master of a family pays for the quantity he is presumed to consume. French wine is often imported into Britain as Spanish, which pays less duty. To check that fraud, the importer's oath is required; and if perjury be suspected, a jury is set upon him in exchequer. This is horrid: the importer is tempted by a high duty on French wine to commit perjury; for which

which he is prosecuted in a sovereign court, open to all the world : he turns desperate, and loses all sense of honour. Thus custom-house oaths have become a proverb, as meriting no regard ; and corruption creeping on, will become universal. Some goods imported pay a duty *ad valorem* ; and to ascertain the value the importer's oath is required. In China, the books of the merchant are trusted, without an oath. Why not imitate so laudable a practice ? If our people be more corrupted, perjury may be avoided, by ordaining the merchant to deliver his goods to any who will demand them, at the rate stated in his books ; with the addition of ten *per cent.* as a sufficient profit to himself. Oaths have been greatly multiplied in Britain since the Revolution, without reserve, and contrary to sound policy. New oaths have been contrived against those who are disaffected to the government ; against fictitious titles in electing parliament-members ; against defrauding the revenue, &c. &c. They have been so hackney'd, and have become so familiar, as to be held a matter of form merely. Perjury has dwindled into a venial transgression, and is scarce held an imputation on any man's character. Lamentable indeed has been the conduct of our legislature : instead of laws for reforming or improving morals, the imprudent multiplication of oaths has not only spread corruption through every rank, but, by annihilating the authority of an oath over conscience, has rendered it entirely useless.

S E C T. VI.

EXAMINATION OF BRITISH TAXES.

THere is no political subject of greater importance to Britain, than the present: a whole life might be profitably bestow'd on it, and a large volume. My part is only to suggest hints; which will occur in considering taxes with regard to their effects. And in that view, they may be commodiously distinguished into five kinds. First, Taxes that encrease the public revenue, without producing any other effect, good or bad. Second, Taxes that encrease the public revenue; and are also beneficial to manufactures and commerce. Third, Taxes that encrease the public revenue; but are hurtful to manufactures and commerce. Fourth, Taxes that are hurtful to manufactures and commerce, without encreasing the public revenue. Fifth, Taxes that are hurtful to manufactures and commerce; and also lessen the public revenue. I proceed to instances of each kind.

The land-tax is an illustrious instance of the first kind: it produces a revenue to the public, levied with very little expence: and it hurts no mortal; for a landholder who pays for having himself and his estate protected, cannot be said to be hurt. The duty on coaches is of the same kind. Both taxes at the same time are agreeable to sound principles. Men ought to contribute to the public revenue, according to the benefit that protection affords them: a rich man requires protection for his possessions, as well as for his person, and therefore ought to contribute largely: a poor

poor man requires protection for his person only, and therefore ought to contribute very little.

A tax on foreign luxuries is an instance of the second kind. It encreases the public revenue: and it greatly benefits individuals; not only by restraining the consumption of foreign luxuries, but by encouraging our own manufactures of that kind. Britain enjoys a monopoly of coal exported to Holland; and the duty on exportation is agreeable to sound policy, being paid by the Dutch. This duty is an instance of the second kind: it raises a considerable revenue to the public; and it enables us to cope with the Dutch in every manufacture that employs coal, such as dying, distilling, works of glass and of iron. And these manufactures in Britain, by the dearth of labour, are entitled to some aid. A tax on horses, to prevent their increase, would be a tax of the same kind. The incredible number of horses used in coaches and other wheel-carriages, has raised the price of labour, by doubling the price of oat-meal, the food of the labouring poor in many parts of Britain. The price of wheat is also raised by the same means; because the vast quantity of land employ'd in producing oats, leaves so much the less for wheat. I would not exempt even plough-horses from the tax; because in every view it is more advantageous to use oxen *. So little regard is paid to these considerations,

* They are preferable for husbandry in several respects. They are cheaper than horses: their food, their harness, their shoes, the attendance on them, much less expensive; and their dung much better for land. Horses are more subject to diseases, and when diseased or old are totally useless; upon which account, a stock of horses for a farm, must be renewed at least every ten years; whereas a stock of oxen may be kept entire for ever without any new expence, as they will always draw a full price when fatted for food. Nor is a horse more docile than an ox: a couple of oxen in a plough, require not a driver more than a couple of horses. The Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope plough with oxen; and exercise them early to a quick

rations, that a coach, whether drawn by two horses or by six, pays the same duty.

As to the third kind, I am grieved to observe, that we have many taxes more hurtful to individuals than advantageous to the public revenue. Multiplied taxes on the necessities of life, candle, soap, leather, ale, salt, &c. raise the price of labour, and consequently of manufactures. If they shall have the effect to deprive us of foreign markets, which we have reason to dread, depopulation and poverty must ensue. The salt-tax in particular is more out of rule than any of the others mentioned: with respect to these, the rich bear the greatest burden, being the greatest consumers; but the share they pay of the salt-tax is very little, because they never touch salt provisions. The salt-tax is still more absurd in another respect, salt being a choice manure for land. One would be amazed to hear of a law prohibiting the use of lime as a manure: he would be still more amazed to hear of the prohibition being extended to salt, which is a manure much superior: and yet a heavy tax on salt, which renders it too dear for being used as a manure, surprises no man. But the mental eye, when left without culture, resembles that of the body: it seldom perceives but what is directly before it: inferences and consequences go far out of sight. Many thousand quarters of good wheat have been annually with-held from Britain by the salt-tax. What the

pace, so as to equal horses both in the plough and in the waggon. The people of Malabar use no other animal for the plough nor for burdens. About Pondichery no beasts of burden are to be seen but oxen. The vast increase of horses of late years for luxury as well as for draught, makes a great consumption of oats. If in husbandry oxen only were used, which require no oats, many thousand acres would be saved for wheat and barley. But the advantages of oxen would not be confined to the farmer. Beef would become much cheaper to the manufacturer, by the vast addition of fat oxen sent to market; and the price of leather and tallow would fall; a national benefit, as every one uses shoes and candles.

treasury

treasury has gained, will not amount to the fiftieth part of that loss. The absurdity of with-holding from us a manure so profitable, has at last been discovered; and remedied in part, by permitting English foul salt to be used for manure, on paying four pence of duty per bushel (a). Why was not Scotland permitted to taste of that bounty? Our candidates, it would appear, are more solicitous of a seat in parliament, than of serving their country when they have obtained that honour.

The window-tax is more detrimental to the common interest than advantageous to the public revenue. In the first place, it promotes large farms in order to save houses and windows;—whereas small farms tend to multiply a hardy and frugal race, useful for every purpose. In the next place, it is a discouragement to manufactures, by taxing the houses in which they are carried on. Manufacturers, in order to relieve themselves as much as possible from the tax, make the whole side of their house a single window; and there are instances where in three stories there are but three windows. The tax, at the same time, is imposed with no degree of equality: a house in a paucity village that affords not five pounds of yearly rent, may have a greater number of windows than one in London rented at fifty. In this respect it runs counter to sound policy, by easing the rich, and burdening the poor. The same objection lies against the plate-tax. It is not indeed hurtful to manufactures and commerce: but it is hurtful to the common interest; because plate converted into money may be the means of saving the nation at a crisis, and therefore ought to be encouraged, instead of being loaded with a tax. On pictures imported into Britain, a duty is laid in proportion to the size. Was there no intelligent person at hand, to inform our legislature, that the only means to rouse a genius for painting, is

(a) 8^o Geo. III. cap. 25.

to give our youth ready access to good pictures? Till these be multiplied in Britain, we never shall have the reputation of producing a good painter. So far indeed it is lucky, that the most valuable pictures are not loaded with a greater duty than the most execrable. Fish, both salt and fresh, brought to Paris, pay a duty of 48 *per cent.* by an arbitrary estimation of the value. This tax is an irreparable injury to France, by discouraging the multiplication of seamen. It is beneficial indeed in one view, as it tends to check the growing population of that great city.

Without waiting to rummage the British taxes for examples of the fourth kind, I shall present my reader with a foreign instance. In the Austrian Netherlands, there are inexhaustible mines of coal, the exportation of which would make a considerable article of commerce, were it not absolutely barred by an exorbitant duty. This absurd duty is a great injury to proprietors of coal, without yielding a farthing to the government. The Dutch many years ago offered to confine themselves to that country for coal, on condition of being relieved from the duty; which would have brought down the price below that of British coal. Is it not wonderful, that the proposal was rejected? But ministers seldom regard what is beneficial to the nation, unless it produce an immediate benefit to their sovereign or to themselves. The coal-mines in the Austrian Netherlands being thus shut up, and the art of working them lost, the British enjoy the monopoly of exporting coal to Holland.

The duty on coal water-born is an instance of the fifth kind. A great obstruction it is to many useful manufactures that require coal; and indeed to manufactures in general, by increasing the expence of coal, an essential article in a cold country. Nay, one would imagine, that it has been intended to check population; as poor wretches benumbed with cold, feel little of the carnal appetite. It has not even the merit of adding much to the public re-

venue;

venue; for, laying aside London, it produces but a mere trifle. But the peculiarity of this tax, which intitles it to a conspicuous place in the fifth class, is, that it is not less detrimental to the public revenue than to individuals. No sedentary art nor occupation, can succeed in a cold climate without plenty of fuel. One may at the first glance distinguish the coal-countries from the rest of England, by the industry of the inhabitants, and by plenty of manufacturing towns and villages. Where there is scarcity of fuel, some hours are lost every morning; because people cannot work till the place be sufficiently warmed, which is especially the case in manufactures that require a soft and delicate finger. Now, in many parts of Britain which might be provided with coal by water, the labouring poor are deprived of that comfort by the tax. Had cheap firing encouraged these people to prosecute arts and manufactures; it is more than probable, that at this day they would be contributing to the public revenue by other duties, much greater sums than are drawn from them by the duty on coal. At the same time, if coal must pay a duty, why not at the pit, where it is cheapest? Is it not an egregious blunder, to lay a great duty on those who pay a high price for coal, and no duty on those who have it cheap? If there must be a coal-duty, let water-born coal at any rate be exempted; not only because even without duty it comes dear to the consumer, but also for the encouragement of seamen. For the honour of Britain this duty ought to be expunged from our statute-book, never again to show its face. Great reason indeed there is for continuing the duty on coal consumed in London; because every artifice should be put in practice, to prevent the increase of a head, that is already too large for the body, or for any body. Towns are unhealthy in proportion to their size; and a great town like London is a greater enemy to population than war or famine.

S E C T. VII.

REGULATIONS for advancing INDUSTRY and COMMERCE.

OF all sciences, that of politics is the most intricate; and its progress toward maturity is slow in proportion. In the present section, taxes on exportation of native commodities take the lead; and nothing can set in a stronger light the gross ignorance of former ages, than a maxim universally adopted, That to tax exportation, or to prohibit it altogether, is the best means for having plenty at home. In Scotland we were not satisfied with prohibiting the exportation of corn, of fish, and of horses: the prohibition was extended to manufactures, linen cloth, for example, candle, butter, cheese, barked hides, shoes * (a).

Duties on exportation are in great favour, from a notion that they are paid by foreigners. This holds sometimes, as in the above-mentioned case of coal exported to Holland: but it fails in every case where the foreign market can be supplied by others;

* Oil was the only commodity that by the laws of Solon was permitted to be exported from Attica. The figs of that country, which are delicious, came to be produced in such plenty, that there was no sufficient consumpt for them at home; and yet the law prohibiting exportation was not abrogated. Sycophant denotes a person who informs against the exporter of figs: but the prohibition appearing absurd, sycophant became a term of reproach.

(a) Act 59. parl. 1573.

for whatever be the duty, the merchant must regulate his price by the market. And even supposing the market-price at present to be sufficient for the duty, with a reasonable profit to the exporter, those who pay no duty will strain every nerve of rivalry, till they cut us out by low prices. The duty on French wine exported from France, is equal to a bounty to the wines of neighbouring countries. At the same time, the duty is unskilfully imposed, being the same upon all wines exported, without regard to flavour or strength; which bars the commerce of small wines, tho' much more plentiful. A moderate duty on exportation, such as small wines can bear, would add a greater sum to the revenue, and also be more beneficial to commerce. To improve the commerce of wine in France, the exportation ought to be free, or, at most, charged with a moderate duty *ad valorem*. In Spain an excessive duty is laid upon the plant barrile when exported; from a persuasion that it will not grow in any other country. It is not considered, that this tax, by lessening the demand, is a discouragement to its culture. A moderate duty would raise more money to the public, would employ more hands, and would make that plant a permanent article of commerce. The excessive duty has set invention at work, for some material in place of that plant. If such a material shall be discovered, the Spanish ministry will be convinced of a salutary maxim, That it is not always safe, to interrupt by high duties the free course of commerce. Formerly in Britain the exportation of manufactured copper was prohibited. That blunder in commercial politics, was corrected by a statute in the reign of King William, permitting such copper to be exported, on paying a duty of four shillings the hundred weight. The exportation ought to have been declared free; which was done by a statute of Queen Anne. But as people are apt to overdo in the rage of improvement, this statute permits even unwrought copper, a raw material, to be exported. This probably

was to favour copper-mines : but did it not also favour foreign copper-manufactures ? Goods and merchandise of the product or manufacture of Great Britain, may be exported duty free (a). Alum, lead, and some other commodities specified in the statute, are excepted ; and a duty formerly paid on exportation is continued, for encouraging such of our own manufactures as employ any of the articles specified. In Ireland to this day, goods exported are loaded with a high duty, without even distinguishing made work from raw materials ; corn, for example, fish, hops, butter, horned cattle, wrought iron, leather, and every thing made of it, &c. &c. And that nothing may escape, all goods exported that are not contained in the book of rates, pay 5 per cent. *ad valorem*.

When Sully entered on the administration of the French finances, the corn in France was at an exorbitant price, occasioned by neglect of husbandry during the civil war. That sagacious minister discovered the secret of re-establishing agriculture, and of reducing the price of corn, which is, to allow a free exportation. So rapid was the success of that bold but politic measure, that in a few years France became the granary of Europe ; and what at present may appear wonderful, we find in the English records, *anno* 1621, bitter complaints of the French underselling them in their own markets. Colbert, who, fortunately for us, had imbibed the common error, renewed the ancient prohibition of exporting corn, hoping to have it cheap at home for his manufacturers. But he was in a gross mistake ; for that prohibition has been the chief cause of many famines in France since that time. The corn-trade in France lay long under great discouragements ; and the French ministry continued long blind to the interest of their country. At last edicts were issued, authorising the commerce of corn to be absolutely free, whether sold within the kingdom or

(a) George I. cap. 14. act 8.

exported. The generality however continued blind. In the year 1768, the badness of the harvest having occasioned a famine, the distresses of the people were excessive, and their complaints universal. Overlooking altogether the bad harvest, they, from amazing partiality, attributed their misery to the new law. It was in vain inculcated, that freedom in the corn-trade encourages agriculture: the popular opinion was adopted even by most of the parliaments; so difficult it is to eradicate established prejudices. In Turkey, about thirty years ago, a grand vizir permitted corn to be exported more freely than had been done formerly, a bushel of wheat being sold at that time under seventeen pence. Every nation flocked to Turkey for corn; and in particular no fewer than three hundred French vessels, from twenty to two hundred tons, entered Smyrna bay in one day. The Janissaries and populace took the alarm, fearing that all the corn would be exported, and that a famine would ensue. In Constantinople they grew mutinous, and could not be appeased till the vizir was strangled, and his body thrown out to them. His successor, who resolved not to split on the same rock, prohibited exportation absolutely. In that country, rent is paid in proportion to the product; and the farmers, who saw no demand, neglected tillage. In less than three years the bushel of wheat rose to six shillings; and the distresses of the people became intolerable. To this day, the fate of the good vizir is lamented.

We have improved upon Sully's discovery, by a bounty on corn exported, which has answered our most sanguine expectations. A great increase of gold and silver subsequent to the said bounty, which has raised the price of many other commodities, must have also raised that of corn, had not still a greater increase of corn, occasioned by the bounty, reduced its price even below what it was formerly; and by that means our manufactures have profited by the bounty no less than our husbandry. The bounty is still

more important in another respect: agriculture in France lies under many discouragements; the greatest of which is, that our wheat can be afforded as cheap in their markets as their own; and by prohibiting exportation, it is in our power during a war, to dash all the French schemes for conquest, by depriving them of bread *. This bounty therefore is our palladium, which we ought religiously to guard, if we would avoid being a province of France. Some sage politicians have begun of late to mutter against the bounty, as feeding our rival manufacturers cheaper than our own; which is a mistake, for the expence of exportation commonly equals the bounty. But supposing it true, will the evil be remedied by withdrawing the bounty? On the contrary, it will discourage manufactures, by raising the price of wheat at home. It will beside encourage French husbandry, so as in all probability to reduce the price of their wheat, below what we afford it to them. In France, labour is cheaper than in England, the people are more frugal, they possess a better soil and climate: what have we to balance these signal advantages but our bounty? and were that bounty withdrawn, I should not be surpris'd to see French corn poured in upon us, at a lower price than it can be furnished at home; the very game that was play'd against us, during Sully's administration.

The exportation of British manufactures to our American colonies, ought to meet with such encouragement as to prevent them from rivalling us: it would be a gross blunder to encourage their manufactures, by imposing a duty on what we export to them.

* Between the years 1715 and 1755 there was of wheat exported from England into France twenty-one millions of *septiers*, estimated at two hundred millions of livres. The bounty for exporting corn has sometimes amounted to L. 150,000 for a single year. But this sum is not all lost to the public; for frequently our corn is exchanged with goods that pay a high duty on importation.

We ought rather to give a bounty on exportation ; which, by underselling them in their own markets, would quash every attempt to rivalry.

As the duty on foreign linen imported into Britain, is drawn back when exported to America, our legislature gave a bounty on our coarse linen exported to that country, which enables us to cope with the Germans in the American markets. The staining or printing of linen cloth, has of late become a considerable article in the manufactures of Britain ; and there is no sort of linen more proper for that manufacture than our own. The duty of foreign linen is drawn back when exported to America, whether plain or stamped : and as we lose the bounty on our coarse linen when stamped, none but foreign linen is employ'd in the stamping manufacture. This is an oversight such as our legislature is guilty of sometimes.

It is not always true policy, to discourage the exportation of our own rude materials : liberty of exportation, gives encouragement to produce them in greater plenty at home ; which consequently lowers the price to our manufacturers. Upon that principle, the exporting corn is permitted, and in Britain even encouraged with a bounty. But where exportation of a rude material will not increase its quantity, the prohibition is good policy. For example, the exporting of rags for paper may be prohibited ; because liberty of exporting will not occasion one yard more of linen cloth to be consumed.

Lyons is the city of Europe where the greatest quantity of silk stuffs is made : it is at the same time the greatest staple of raw silk ; the silk of Italy, of Spain, of the Levant, and of the south of France, being there collected. The exportation of raw silk is prohibited in France, with a view to lessen its price at home, and to obstruct the silk-manufacture among foreigners. The first is a gross error ; the prohibition of exportation producing scarcity, not plenty :

plenty : and with respect to the other view, it seems to have been overlooked, that the commerce of the silks of Italy, of Spain, and of the Levant, is not confined to France, but is open to all trading nations. This prohibition is indeed so injudicious, that without any benefit to France, it has done irreparable mischief to the city of Lyons : while the commerce of raw silk, both buying and selling, was monopoliz'd by the merchants of that city, they had it in their power to regulate the price ; but to compel foreigners to go to the fountain-head, not only raises the price by concurrence of purchasers, but deprives Lyons of a lucrative monopoly. The same blunder is repeated with respect to raw silk spun and dy'd. In Lyons, silk is prepared for the loom with more art than any where else ; and to secure the silk-manufacture, the exportation of spun silk is prohibited ; which must rouse foreigners, to bestow their utmost attention upon improving the spinning and dressing of silk : and who knows whether reiterated trials by persons of genius, may not, in England for example, bring these branches of the manufacture to greater perfection, than they are even in Lyons ?

Whether we have not committed a blunder of the same kind in prohibiting exportation of our wool, is a very serious question, which I proceed to examine. A spirit for husbandry, and for every sort of improvement, is in France turning more and more general. In several provinces there are societies, who have command of public money for promoting agriculture ; and about no other article are these societies more solicitous, than about improving the staple of their wool. A book lately published in Sweden, and translated into French, has inspired them with sanguine hopes of success ; as it contains an account of the Swedish wool being greatly improved in quality, as well as in quantity, by importing Spanish and English sheep for breed. Now as France is an extensive country, situated between Spain and England, two excellent wool-

wool-countries, it would be strange, if there should not be found a single corner in all France, where wool may be advanced to some degree of perfection. Britain may be justly apprehensive of these attempts; for if France can cope with us under the disadvantage of procuring our wool by smuggling, how far will they exceed us with good wool of their own? The woollen cloth of England has always been held its capital manufacture; and patriotism calls on every one to prevent if possible the loss of that valuable branch. Till something better be discovered, I venture to propose what at first may be thought a strange measure, and that is, to permit the exportation of our wool upon a moderate duty, such as will raise the price to the French, but not such as to encourage smuggling. The opportunity of procuring wool in the neighbourhood at a moderate price, joined with several unsuccessful attempts to improve the staple of their own wool, would soon make the French abandon thoughts of that improvement.

Experience has unfolded the advantages of liberty to export corn: it has greatly encouraged agriculture, and, by increasing the quantity of corn, has made it even cheaper at home than formerly. Have we not reason to expect a similar consequence, from the same measure with respect to wool? A new vent for that commodity, would increase the number of our sheep, meliorate the land by their dung, and probably bring down the price of our wool at home. It is proper indeed to prohibit the exportation of wool, as of corn, when the price rises above a certain sum; which would have the double effect of securing plenty to ourselves, and distressing our rivals at critical times when the commodity is scarce.

There is one reason that should influence our legislature to permit the exportation of wool, even supposing the foregoing arguments to be inconclusive: Very long experience may teach us, if we can be taught by experience, that vain are our endeavours to prevent

prevent wool from being exported; it holds true with respect to all prohibitions, that smuggling will always prevail, where the profits rise above the risk. Why not then make a virtue of necessity, by permitting exportation under a duty? One other measure would restore the English woollen manufacture to its pristine splendor, which is, to apply the sum arising from the tax, as a premium for exporting woollen goods. Were that measure adopted, the liberty of exporting wool would prove a singular blessing to England.

I close this branch with a commercial lesson, to which every other consideration ought to yield. The trade of a nation depends for the most part on very delicate circumstances, and requires to be carefully nursed. Foreigners, in particular, ought to be flattered and encouraged, that they may prefer us before others. Nor ought we ever to rely entirely on our natural advantages; for it is not easy to foresee what may occur to overbalance them. As this reflection is no less obvious than weighty, facts will be more effectual than argument for making a deep impression. The Swiss some years ago imported all their wines from the King of Sardinia's dominions. The King laid a high duty on these wines, knowing that the Swiss had not ready access to any other wine-country. He did not foresee, that this high duty was equal to a premium for cultivating the vine at home. They succeeded; and now are provided with wine of their own growth. The city of Lyons, by making silver-thread in perfection, had maintained a monopoly of that article against foreigners, as well as natives. But a high duty on the exporting it, in order to monopolize also the manufacture of silver-lace, will probably excite foreigners to improve their own silver-thread and silver-lace; and France will be deprived of both monopolies, by the very means employ'd for securing both. English goods purchased by Spaniards for the American market, pay to the King of Spain on exportation

portation a duty equal to their value. This impolitic measure opens a wide door to smuggling; as English goods can be furnished *50 per cent.* cheaper from Jamaica. The Spanish governor of Mexico joins underhand in the smuggling; which is commonly carried on in the following manner. The governor, to whom early notice is given, issues a proclamation, bearing, that a foreign ship, with English goods on board, every article being specified, is hovering on the coast; and prohibiting, under severe penalties, any person to be a purchaser. That public proclamation, which is virtually a public advertisement, has the desired effect. All flock to the shore, and purchase in perfect tranquillity.

Beside heavy duties, commerce with foreigners has been distressed by many unwary regulations. The herring-fishery, which is now an immense article of commerce, was engrossed originally by the Scots. But grasping at all advantages, the royal boroughs of Scotland, in the reign of the second James, prohibited their fishermen to sell herrings at sea to foreigners; ordering, that the herring should be first landed, in order that they themselves might be first served. Such was the police of those times. But behold the consequence. The Netherlanders, and people of the Hanse towns, being prohibited to purchase as formerly, became fishers themselves, and cut the Scots out of that profitable branch of trade. The tar-company of Sweden, taking it for granted, that the English could not otherwise be supplied, refused to let them have any pitch or tar, even for ready money, unless permitted to be imported into England in Swedish bottoms; and consequently in such quantities only as the company should be pleased to furnish. This hardship moved the parliament to give a bounty for pitch and tar made in our own colonies. And if we be not already, we shall soon be altogether independent of Sweden. The Dutch, excited by the profitable trade of Portugal with the East Indies, attempted a north-east passage to China;

and that proving abortive, they set on foot a trade with Lisbon for East-India commodities. Portugal was at that time subject to the King of Spain; and the Dutch, tho' at war with Spain, did not doubt of their being well received in Portugal, with which kingdom they had no cause of quarrel. But the King of Spain, overlooking not only the law of nations; but even his own interest as King of Portugal, confiscated at short-hand the Dutch ships and their cargoes, in the harbour of Lisbon. That unjust and unpolitic treatment, provoked the Dutch to attempt an East-India trade, which probably they would not otherwise have thought of; and they were so successful, as to supplant the Portuguese in every quarter. And thus the King of Spain, by a gross error in politics, exalted his enemies to be a powerful maritime state. Had he encouraged the Dutch to trade with Lisbon, other nations must have resorted to the same market. Portugal thereby would have been raised to such a height of maritime power, as to be afraid of no rival. The Dutch would not have thought of coping with them, nor would any other nation.

We proceed to foreign commodities, and the measures laid down for regulating their importation, which have different views. One is, to keep down a rival power; in which view it is prudent to prohibit importation from one country, and to encourage it from another. It is judicious in the British legislature, to load French wines with a higher duty than those of Portugal; and in France, it would be a proper measure, to prefer the beef of Holstein, or of Russia, before that of Ireland; and the tobacco of the Ukraine, or of the Palatinate, before that of Virginia. But such measures of government ought to be sparingly exercised, for fear of retaliation.

There is no cause more cogent for regulating importation, than an unfavourable balance. By permitting French goods to be imported free of duty, the balance against England was computed to be

be a million Sterling yearly. In the year 1678, that importation was regulated; which, with a prohibition of wearing East-India manufactures, did in twenty years turn the balance of trade in favour of England.

Most of the British regulations with regard to goods imported, are contrived for promoting our own manufactures, or those of our colonies. A statute, 3^d Edward IV. cap. 4. intitled, "Certain merchandises not lawful to be brought ready wrought into the kingdom," contains a large list of such merchandises; showing the good sense of the English in an early period, intent on promoting their own manufactures. To favour a new manufacture of our own, it is proper to lay a duty on the same manufacture imported. To encourage the art of throwing silk, the duty on raw silk imported is reduced, and that on thrown silk is heightened. But such a measure ought to be taken with great circumspection, lest it recoil against ourselves. The Swedes, some years ago, intent on raising manufactures at home, prohibited at once foreign manufactures, without due preparation. Smuggling ensued, for people must import what they cannot find at home; and the home manufactures were not benefited. But the consequences were still more severe. Foreign manufactures were formerly purchased with their copper, iron, timber, pitch, tar, &c.: but now, as foreigners cannot procure these commodities but with ready money, they resort to Russia and Norway, where commodities of the same kind are procured by barter. The Swedish government, perceiving their error, permit several foreign manufactures to be imported as formerly. But it is now too late; for the trade flows into another channel; and at present, the Swedish copper and iron works are far from flourishing as they once did. In the year 1768, an ordinance was issued by the court of Spain, prohibiting printed or painted linen and cotton to be imported; intended for encouraging a manufacture of printed cottons pro-

jected in Catalonia and Aragon. The Spanish ministry have all along been singularly unlucky in their commercial regulations. It is easy to foresee, that such a prohibition will have no effect, but to raise the price on the subjects of Spain; for the prohibited goods will be smuggled, discouraging as much as ever the intended manufacture. The prudent measure would have been, to lay a duty upon printed cottons and linens imported, so small as not to encourage smuggling; and to apply that duty for nursing the infant manufacture. A foreign manufacture ought never to be totally prohibited, till that at home be in such plenty, as nearly to supply the wants of the natives. During ignorance of political principles, a new manufacture was commonly encouraged with an exclusive privilege for a certain number of years. Thus in Scotland, an exclusive privilege of exporting woollen and linen manufactures, was given to some private societies (a). Such a monopoly is ruinous to a nation; and frequently to the manufacture itself (b). I know no monopoly that in sound politics can be justified, except that given to authors of books for fourteen years by an act of Queen Anne *. Exemption from duty, premiums

(a) Act 42. parl. 1661.

(b) See *Elémens du Commerce*, tom. 1. p. 334.

* That act is judiciously contrived, not only for the benefit of authors, but for that of learning in general. It encourages men of genius to write, and multiplies books both of instruction and amusement; which, by concurrence of many editors after the monopoly is at an end, are sold at the cheapest rate. Many well-disposed persons complain, that the exclusive privilege bestow'd by the statute upon authors is too short, and that it ought to be perpetual. Nay it is asserted, that authors have a perpetual privilege by common law; and it was determined lately in the court of king's-bench, that by the common law of England the privilege is perpetual. Nothing more frequently happens, than by grasping at the shadow, to lose the substance; for I have no difficulty to maintain, that a perpetual mono-

to the best workmen, a bounty on exportation, joined with a duty on goods of the same kind imported, and at last a total prohibition, are the proper encouragements to a new manufacture.

The importation of raw materials ought to be encouraged in every manufacturing country, permitting only a moderate duty for encouraging our own rude materials of the same kind. By a French edict 1654, for encouraging ship-building, ship-timber imported pays no duty. But perhaps a moderate duty would have been better policy, in order to encourage such timber of the growth of France. Deal timber accordingly, and other timber, imported into Britain from any part of Europe, Ireland excepted, pays a moderate duty. And oak-bark imported pays a duty, which is an encouragement to propagate oak at home. The importation of lean cattle from Ireland, which in effect are raw ma-

poly of books would prove more destructive to learning, and even to authors, than a second irruption of Goths and Vandals. It is the nature of a monopoly to raise the price of commodities; and by a perpetual monopoly in the commerce of books, the price of good books would be raised far beyond the reach of most readers: they would be sold like pictures of the great masters. The works of Shakespeare, for example, or of Milton, would be seen in very few libraries. In short, the sale of good books would be confined to a few learned men, such as have money to spare, and to a few rich men, who buy out of vanity, as they buy a diamond or a fine coat. Fashions at the same time are variable; and books, even the most splendid, would wear out of fashion with men of opulence, and be despised as antiquated furniture. And with respect to men of taste, their number is so small as not to afford encouragement even for the most frugal edition. Thus booksellers, by grasping too much, would put an end to their trade altogether; and men of genius would not write, when no price could be afforded for their works. At the same time, our present authors and booksellers would not be much benefited by such a monopoly. Not many books have so long a run as fourteen years; and the success of a book on the first publication, is so uncertain, that a bookseller will give little more for a perpetuity, than for the temporary privilege of the statute. This was foreseen by the legislature; and the privilege was wisely confined to fourteen years, equally beneficial to the public and to authors.

terials,

terials, is, by a statute of Charles II. declared a public nuisance. What gross ignorance! Is it not evident, that to feed cattle, is more profitable than to breed them? The chief promoter of that notable statute, was Sir John Knight, infamous for an insolent speech in King William's reign against naturalizing foreign Protestants, and proposing to kick out of the kingdom those already settled. Experience hath proved the benefit of importing lean cattle into England; witness the vast quantities imported yearly from Scotland. Diamonds, pearls, and jewels of every kind, paid formerly upon importation a duty of ten *per cent. ad valorem*; which by act 6^o George II. cap. 7. was taken off, upon the following preamble: "That London is now become a great mart for diamonds and other precious stones, from whence most foreign countries are supplied; that great numbers of rough diamonds are sent here to be cut and polished; and that a free importation would encrease the trade."

Sorry am I to observe, that several of our duties on importation, are far from being conformable to the foregoing rule; many raw materials necessary for our manufactures being loaded with a duty on importation, and some with a heavy duty. Barilla, for example, is a raw material used in the glass-manufacture: the exportation from Spain is loaded with a very high duty: and to raise the price still higher, we add another duty on importation; without having the pretext of encouraging a raw material of our own growth, for barilla grows not in this island. Hair is a raw material employ'd in several manufactures; and yet every kind of it, human hair, horse hair, goat's hair, &c. pays a duty on importation; which consequently raises the price of our own hair, as well as of what is imported. Nor has this duty, more than the former, the pretext of being an encouragement to our own product; for surely there will not on that account be reared one child more, or foal, or kid. The same objection lies against the du-

ty on foreign kelp, which is very high. Rancid oil of olives, fit for soap and woollen manufactures, pays upon importation a high duty: were it free of duty, we should be able to serve ourselves with Castile soap of home manufacture; and likewise our colonies, which are partly supplied by the French. Each of the following raw materials ought in sound policy to be free of duty on importation; and yet they are loaded with a duty, some with a high duty; pot-ashes, elephant's teeth, raw silk from the East Indies, lamp-black, bristles dressed or undressed, horns of beeves. Undressed skins, tho' a rude material, pay a duty on importation; and French kid-skins are honoured above others with a high duty: to reject a great benefit to ourselves rather than afford a small benefit to a rival nation, favours more of peevishness than of prudence.

For encouraging our colonies, coffee is permitted to be imported from the plantations free of duty, while other coffee pays six pence *per* pound. The heavy duty on whalebone and whale-oil imported, which was laid on for encouraging our own whale-fishing, is taken off with respect to the importation from our American colonies (*a*). This may put an end to our own whale-fishery: but it will enable the Americans to cope with the Dutch; and who knows whether they may not at last prevail? For encouraging the culture of hemp and flax in America, there is a bounty given upon what is imported into Britain. One would imagine, that our legislature intended to enable the colonies to rival us in a staple manufacture, contrary to the fundamental principle of colonization. But we did not see so far: we only foresaw a benefit to Britain, in being supplied with hemp and flax from our colonies, rather than from Russia and the Low Countries. But even abstracting from rivalry, was it not obvious, that a bounty for

(*a*) 4^o George III. cap. 29.

encouraging the culture of hemp and flax at home, would be more successful, than for encouraging the culture in America, where the price of labour is excessively high, not to talk of the freight *.

The encouragement given to foreign linen-yarn, by taking off the duty on importation, is a measure that greatly concerns Britain; and how far salutary, shall be strictly examined, after stating some preliminary observations. The first is, That as the price of our own commodities can never rise above that of foreign commodities sold here, the price of imported linen must regulate the price of home-made linen. The next is, That tho' the duty on importation is paid by the merchant at the first instance, he relieves himself of it, by raising the price on the purchaser; which of course raises the price of the same sort of goods made at home;

* Between the mother-country and her colonies the following rule ought to be fixed, That with respect to commodities wanted, each of them should prefer the other before all other nations. Britain should take from her colonies whatever they can furnish for her use; and they should take from Britain whatever she can furnish for their use. In a word, every thing regarding commerce ought to be reciprocal, and equal between them. To bar a colony from access to the fountain-head for commodities that cannot be furnished by the mother-country but at second-hand, is oppression: it is so far degrading the colonists from being free subjects to be slaves. What right, for example, has Britain to prohibit her colonies from purchasing tea or porcelain at Canton, if they can procure it cheaper there than in London? No connection between two nations can be so intimate, as to make such restraint an act of justice. Our legislature however have acted like a stepmother, to her American colonies, by prohibiting them to have any commerce but with Britain only. They must land first in Britain all their commodities, even what are not intended to be sold there; and they must take from Britain, not only its own product, but every foreign commodity that is wanted. This regulation is not only unjust but impolitic; as by it the interest of the colonies in general is sacrificed to that of a few London merchants. Our legislature have at last so far opened their eyes, as to give a partial relief. Some articles are permitted to be carried directly to the place of destination, without being first entered in Britain, wheat for example, rice, &c.

and

and accordingly a duty on importation is in effect a bounty to our own manufacturers. A third observation is, That the price of our linen-cloth ought to be divided between the spinner and the weaver, in such proportion as to afford bread to both. If the yarn be too high, the weaver is undone; and if too low, the spinner is undone. This was not attended to, when, for encouraging our spinners, a duty of three pence was laid on every pound of imported linen-yarn; which had the effect to raise the price of our own yarn beyond what the weaver could afford. This mystery being unveiled, the duty was first lowered to two pence, and then to a penny: our spinners had tolerable bread, and our weavers were not oppressed with paying too high a price for yarn.

Some patriotic gentlemen, who had more zeal than knowledge, finding the linen-manufacture benefited by the several reductions of the duty, rashly concluded, that it would be still more benefited by a total abolition of the duty. The penny accordingly was taken off (*a*), and linen-yarn was permitted to be imported duty-free; which, if matters had continued as at the date of the act, would have left us not a single spinner by profession; because it would have reduced the price of our yarn below what could afford bread to the spinner. Lucky it has been for our linen-manufacture, that the German war, which soon followed, suspended all their manufactures, and spinning in particular; which proved a favourable opportunity for diffusing widely the art of spinning, and for making our spinners more and more dexterous. And yet, now that the war is at an end, it is far from being certain, that our yarn can be afforded as cheap as what is imported from Silesia. We have good authority for asserting, that the English spinners have suffered by that statute: from the books of many parishes it appears, that soon after the statute, a number of wo-

(a) 29th George II.

men, who had lived by spinning, became a burden upon the parish. One thing is evident, that as spinning is the occupation of females who cannot otherwise be so usefully employ'd, and as more hands are required for spinning than for weaving, the former is the more valuable branch of the manufacture. It ought then to be the peculiar concern of our legislature, not to destroy that branch by impolitic regulations. And yet very little attention seems to have been given to the public interest, in passing the act under consideration. Why was it not enquired into, whether the intended reduction of the price of yarn, would leave bread to the British spinner? The result of that enquiry would have been fatal to the intended act; for it would have been clearly seen, that the Scotch spinner could not make bread by her work, far less the English. Other particulars ought also to have been suggested to the legislature, that flax-spinning is of all occupations the fittest for women of a certain class, confined within small houses; that a flax-wheel requires less space than a wheel for wool; and that the toughness of British flax makes it excel for sail-cloth, dowlas, ticking, and sheeting. The British spinner might, in a British statute, have expected the cast of the scale, had it been but a halfpenny *per* pound on importation.

At the same time, why should there be any inconsistency in our commercial regulations, when the wisest heads of the nation are employ'd about them? Flax rough or undressed, being a rude material, is imported duty-free, but dressed flax pays a high duty; both of them calculated for encouraging our own manufacturers. Behold now a flat inconsistency: tho' dressed flax, for the reason given, pays a high duty; yet when by additional labour it is converted into yarn, it pays no duty. How absurd is this! Further, foreign yarn is not only made welcome duty-free, but even receives a bounty when converted into linen, and exported to our plantations. Have we no reason to be afraid, that such indulgence

gence to foreign yarn will deprive us of foreign rough flax? The difference of bulk and freight will determine the Germans to send us nothing but their yarn, and equally determine our importers to commission that commodity only.

Goods imported, if subjected to a duty, are generally of the best kind; because the duty bears a less proportion to such than to meaner sorts. The best French wines are imported into Britain, where the duty is higher than in any other country. For that reason, the best linen-yarn was imported while the duty subsisted; but now the German yarn is sorted into different kinds, of which the worst is reserved for the English market.

Regulations concerning the exportation of commodities formerly imported, come next in order. And for encouraging such exportation, one method practised with success, is, to restore to the merchant the whole or part of the duty paid at importation; which is termed a *drawback*. This in particular is done with respect to tobacco; which by that means can be afforded to foreigners at two pence halfpenny *per* pound, when the price at home is eight pence halfpenny. But by an omission in the act of parliament, a drawback is only given for raw tobacco; which bars the exportation of snuff or manufactured tobacco, as foreigners can undersell us five-and-thirty *per cent*. Tobacco being an article of luxury, it was well judged in our legislature to lay a heavier duty on what is consumed at home, than on what is exported. Upon the same principle, the duty that is paid on the importation of coffee and cocoa from our American plantations, is wholly drawn back when exported (a). But as China earthen ware is not intitled to any encouragement from us, and as it is an article of luxury, it gets no drawback, even when exported to America (7^o George III. cap. 46.). The exporter of rice from Britain, first imported from

(a) 7^o George III. cap. 46.

America, is intitled to draw back but half the duty paid on importation. Rice imported duty-free might rival our wheat-crop. But the whole duty ought to be drawn back on exportation: it ought to be afforded to our neighbours at the lowest rate, partly to rival their wheat-crop, and partly to encourage our rice-colonies.

Tobacco is an article of luxury; and it is well ordered, that it should come dearer to us than to foreigners. But every wise administration will take the opposite side with respect to articles that concern our manufactures. Quicksilver pays upon importation a duty of about 8 d. *per* pound; 7 d. of which is drawn back upon exportation. The intention of the drawback was to encourage the commerce of quicksilver; without adverting, that to afford quicksilver to foreign manufacturers cheaper than to our own, is a gross blunder in commercial politics. Again, when quicksilver is manufactured into vermilion or sublimate, no drawback is allowed; which effectually bars their exportation: we ought to be ashamed of such an absurdity. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, dyers were prohibited to use logwood, which was ordered to be openly burnt. But the English dyers having acquired the art of fixing colours made of logwood, it was permitted to be imported (*a*), every ton paying on importation L. 5; L. 4 of which was to be drawn back upon exportation. That law, made in the days of ignorance, was intended to encourage the commerce of logwood; and had that effect: but the blunder of discouraging our own manufactures, by furnishing logwood cheaper to our rivals, was overlooked. Both articles were put upon a better footing (*b*), giving a greater encouragement to the commerce of logwood, by allowing it to be imported duty-free; and

(*a*) Act 13. & 14. Charles II. cap. 11. § 26. 27.

(*b*) Act 8^o George I. c. 14.

by giving an advantage to our own manufactures, by laying a duty of 40s. upon every hundred weight exported. Lastly, Still more to encourage the commerce of logwood (*a*), the duty upon exportation is discontinued. It will have the effect proposed: but will not that benefit be more than balanced by the encouragement it gives to foreign manufactures? By the late peace, we have obtained the monopoly of gum-senega; and proper measures have been taken for turning it to the best account: the exportation from Africa is confined to Great Britain; and the duty on importation is only six pence *per* hundred weight: but the duty on exportation from Britain is thirty shillings *per* hundred weight (*b*); which, with freight, commission, and insurance, makes it come dear to foreigners. Formerly, every beaver's skin paid upon importation seven pence of duty; and the exporter received a drawback of four pence; as if it had been the purpose of the legislature, to make our own people pay more for that useful commodity than foreigners. Upon obtaining a monopoly of beaver-skins by the late peace, that absurd regulation was altered: a penny *per* skin of duty is laid on importation, and seven pence on exportation (*c*). By that means beaver-skins are cheaper here than in any other country of Europe. A similar regulation is established with respect to gum-arabic. A hundred weight pays on importation six pence, and on exportation L. 1, 10s. (*d*). As the foregoing articles are used in various manufactures, their cheapness in Britain, by means of these regulations, will probably balance the high price of labour, so as to keep open to us the foreign market.

(*a*) 7^o Geo. III. cap. 47.

(*b*) 5^o George III. cap. 37.

(*c*) 4^o George III. cap. 9.

(*d*) 5^o George III. cap. 37.

James I. of England issued a proclamation, prohibiting gold and silver, whether in coin or plate, goldsmith's work, or bullion, to be exported. Not to mention the unconstitutional step of an English King usurping the legislative power, it was a glaring absurdity to prohibit manufactured work from being exported. Gold and silver, coined or uncoined, are to this day prohibited to be exported from France; a most absurd prohibition, for a merchant will never willingly export gold and silver; but if the balance be against him, the exportation is unavoidable. The only effect of the prohibition is, to swell the merchant's debt; for he must have recourse to a smuggler, who must be tempted with a high bribe to undertake the exportation.

A French author remarks, that in no country are commercial regulations better contrived than in Britain; and instances the following particulars. 1st, Foreign commodities, such as may rival their own, are prohibited, or burdened with duties. 2d, Their manufactures are encouraged by a free exportation. 3d, Raw materials which cannot be produced at home, cochineal, for example, indigo, &c. are imported free of duty. 4th, Raw materials of their own growth, such as wool, fuller's earth, &c. are prohibited to be exported. 5th, Every commodity has a free course through the kingdom, without duty. And lastly, Duties paid on importation, are repaid on exportation. This remark is for the most part well founded: and yet the facts above set forth will not permit us to say, that the English commercial laws have as yet arrived at perfection.

HAVING thus gone through the several articles that enter into the present sketch, I shall close with some general reflections. The management of the finances is a most important branch of government; and no less delicate than important. Taxes may be so contrived as to promote in a high degree the prosperity of a state; and without much contrivance, they may do much mischief.

chief. The latter, by rendering the sovereign odious, and the people miserable, effectually eradicate patriotism: no other cause is more fruitful of rebellion; and no other cause reduces a country to be a more easy prey to an invader. To that cause were the Mahometans chiefly indebted for their conquest of the Greek empire. The people were glad to change their master; because, instead of multiplied, intricate, and vexatious duties, they found themselves subjected to a simple tribute, easily collected, and easily paid. Had the art of oppressive taxes been known to the Romans, when they put in practice against the Carthaginians the utmost perfidy and cruelty for making them abandon their city, they probably would have chosen the softer method of imposing high duties on exportation and importation, which would have gratified their avarice, and at the same time have emaciated Carthage, and reduced it to beggary.

But such taxes require not the aid of external force to subdue a nation: they alone will reduce it to the most contemptible weakness. From the union of the different Spanish kingdoms under one monarch, there was reason to expect an exertion of spirit, similar to that of the Romans when peace was restored under Augustus. Spain was at that period the most potent kingdom in Europe, or perhaps in the world; and yet, instead of flourishing in that advantageous condition, it was by noxious taxes brought down to poverty and depopulation. The political history of that kingdom with respect to its finances, ought to be kept in perpetual remembrance, that kings, and their ministers, may shun the destructive rock upon which Spain hath been wrecked. The cortes of Spain had once as extensive powers as ever were enjoy'd by an English parliament; but at the time of the union their power being sunk to a shadow, the King and his ministers governed without much control. Britain cannot be too thankful to Providence for her parliament. From the history of every modern European nation,

tion, an instructive lesson may be gathered, that the three estates, or a parliament in our language, are the only proper check against the ignorance and rapacity of ministers. The fertility of the Spanish soil is well known. Notwithstanding frequent droughts to which it is liable, it would produce greatly with diligent culture; and in fact during the time of the Roman domination, produced corn sufficient for its numerous inhabitants, and a great surplus, which was annually exported to Italy. During the domination of the Moors, Arabian authors agree, that Spain was extremely populous. An author of that nation, who wrote in the tenth century, reports, that in his time there were in Spain 80 capital cities, 300 of the second and third orders, beside villages so frequent, that one could not walk a mile without meeting one or more of them. In Cordova alone, the capital of the Moorish empire, he reckons 200,000 houses *, 600 mosques, and 900 public baths. In the eleventh century, another author mentions no fewer than 12,000 villages in the plain of Seville. Agriculture at that period must have been in the utmost perfection, when Spain could feed such multitudes. What was the extent of their internal commerce, is not recorded; but all authors agree, that their foreign commerce was immense. Beside many articles of smaller value, they exported raw silk, oil, sugar, a sort of cochineal, quicksilver, iron wrought and unwrought, manufactures of silk, of wool, &c. The annual revenue of Abdoulrahman III. one of the Spanish califs, was in money 12,045,000 dinars, above five millions Sterling, beside large quantities of corn, wine, oil, and other fruits. That prince's revenue must indeed have been immense to supply the sums expended by him. Beside the annual charges of government, fleets, and armies, he laid out great sums on his pri-

* Dwelling-houses at that time were not so large, nor so expensive, as they came to be in later times.

vate pleasures. Tho' engaged continually in war, he had money to spare for building a new town three miles from Cordova, named *Zebra*, after his favourite mistress. In that town he erected a magnificent palace, sufficiently capacious for his whole seraglio of 6300 persons. There were in it 1400 columns of African and Spanish marble, 19 of Italian marble, and 140 of the finest kind, a present from the Greek Emperor. In the middle of the great saloon, were many images of birds and beasts in pure gold adorned with precious stones, pouring water into a large marble basin. That prince must have had immense stables for horses, when he entertained for his constant guard no fewer than 12,000 horsemen, having sabres and belts enriched with gold. Upon the city of Zehra alone, including the palace and gardens, were expended annually 300,000 dinars, which make above L. 100,000 Sterling; and it required twenty-five years to complete these works *.

The great fertility of the soil, the industry of the Moors, and their advantageous situation for trade, carried on the prosperity of Spain down to the time that they were subdued by Ferdinand

* A present made to Abdoulrahman by Abdoumelik, when chosen prime vizier, is a specimen of the riches of Spain in that period. 1st, 408 pounds of virgin gold. 2d, The value of 420,000 sequins in silver ingots. 3d, 400 pounds of the wood of aloes, one piece of which weigh'd 180 pounds. 4th, 500 ounces of ambergrease, of which there was one piece that weigh'd 100 ounces. 5th, 300 ounces of the finest camphire. 6th, 300 pieces of gold-stuff, such as were prohibited to be worn but by the Caliph himself. 7th, A quantity of fine fur. 8th, Horse-furniture of gold and silk, Bagdad fabric, for 48 horses. 9th, 4000 pounds of raw silk. 10th, 30 pieces Persian tapestry of surprising beauty. 11th, Complete armour for 800 war-horses. 12th, 1000 bucklers, and 100,000 arrows. 13th, Fifteen Arabian horses, with most sumptuous furniture; and a hundred other Arabian horses for the King's attendants. 14th, Twenty mules, with suitable furniture. 15th, Forty young men, and twenty young women, complete beauties, all of them dress'd in superb habits.

of Arragon. Of this we have undoubted evidence, from the condition of Spain in the days of Charles V. and of his son Philip, being esteemed at that period the richest nation in the universe. We have the authority of Ustariz, that the town of Seville, in the period mentioned, contained 60,000 silk looms. During the sixteenth century, the woollen cloth of Segovia was esteemed the finest in Europe; and that of Catalonia long maintained its preference in the Levant, in Italy, and in the adjacent islands. In a memorial addressed to the second Philip, Louis Valle de la Cerda reports, that in the fair of Medina he had negotiated bills of exchange to the extent of one hundred and fifty-five millions of crowns; and in Spain at that time there were several other fairs, no less frequented.

The expulsion of the Moors, deprived Spain of six or seven hundred thousand frugal and industrious inhabitants; a wound that touch'd its vitals, but not mortal: tender care, with proper remedies, would have restored Spain to its former vigour. But unhappily for that kingdom, its political physicians were not skilled in the method of cure: instead of applying healing medicines, they enflamed the disease, and rendered it incurable. The ministry, who, instigated by the clergy, had prevailed on the King to banish the Moors, dreading loss of favour if they should suffer the King's revenues to sink, were forc'd, in self-defence, to double the taxes upon the remaining inhabitants. And what could be expected from that fatal measure, but utter ruin; when the poor Christians, who were too much of gentlemen to be industrious, had scarce been able to crawl under the load of former taxes?

But a matter that affords a lesson so instructive, merits a more particular detail. So late as the beginning of the last century, there were extensive plantations of sugar in the kingdom of Granada, which upon the occasion mentioned were deeply taxed, so as that with the former taxes sugar pay'd 36 *per cent.* This branch
of

of husbandry, which could not fail to languish under such oppression, was in a deep consumption when the first American sugars were imported into Europe, and was totally extinguished by the lower price of these sugars. Spain once enjoy'd a most extensive commerce of spirits manufactured at home, perhaps more extensive than France does at present. But two causes concurred to ruin that manufacture; first, oppressive taxes; and next, a prohibition to the manufacturer, of vending his spirits to any but to the farmers of the revenue; a slavery past all endurance. Spanish salt is superior in quality to that of Portugal, and still more to that of France: when refined in Holland, it produces 10 *per cent.* more than the former, and 20 *per cent.* more than the latter; and the making of salt, requires in Spain less labour than in Portugal or in France. Thus Spanish salt may be afforded the cheapest, as requiring less labour; and yet may draw the highest price, as superior in quality: notwithstanding which shining advantages, scarce any salt is exported from Spain; and no wonder, for an exorbitant duty makes it come dearer to the purchaser than any other salt. A more moderate duty would bring more profit to the government; beside easing the labouring poor, and employing them in the manufacture. The superior quality of Spanish raw silk, makes it in great request; but as the duty upon it exceeds 60 *per cent.* it can find no vent in a foreign market: nor is there almost any demand for it at home, as its high price has reduced the silk-manufacture in Spain to the lowest ebb. But the greatest oppression of all, as it affects every sort of manufacture, is the famous tax known by the name of *alcavala*, upon every thing bought and sold, which was laid on in the fifteenth century by a cortes or parliament, limited expressly to eight years, and yet kept up, contrary to law, merely by the King's authority. This monstrous tax, originally 10 *per cent. ad valorem*, was by the two Philips, III. and IV. augmented to 14 *per cent.*; sufficient of itself to de-

stroy all internal commerce, by the encouragement it gives to smuggling *. The difficulty of recovering payment of such oppressive taxes, heightened the brutality of the farmers; which hastened the downfall of the manufactures: poverty and distress banished such workmen as could find bread elsewhere; and reduced the rest to beggary. The poor husbandmen sunk under the weight of taxes: and as if this had not been sufficient to ruin agriculture totally, the Spanish ministry superadded an absolute prohibition against exporting corn. The most amazing article of all is, that it has been the practice, for more than three centuries, to set a price on corn; which ruins the farmer when the price is low, and yet refuses him the relief of a high price. That agriculture in Spain should be in a deep consumption, is far from being a wonder: it is rather a wonder that it has not long ago died of that disease. Formerly there was plenty of corn for twenty millions of inhabitants, with a surplus for the great city of Rome; and yet at present, and for very many years back, there has not been corn for seven millions, its present inhabitants. Their only resource for procuring even the necessaries of life, were the treasures of the new world, which could not last for ever; and Spain became so miserably poor, that Philip IV. was necessitated to give a currency

* The following passage is from Ustariz, ch. 96. "After mature consideration of the duties imposed upon commodities, I have not discovered in France, England, or Holland, any duty laid upon the home-sale of their own manufactures, whether the first or any subsequent sale. As Spain alone groans under the burden of 14 *per cent.* imposed not only on the first sale of every parcel, but on each sale, I am jealous that this strange tax is the chief cause of the ruin of our manufactures." As to the ruinous consequences of this tax, see Bernardo de Ulloa upon the manufactures and commerce of Spain, Part 1. ch. 3. ch. 13. And yet so blind was Philip II. of Spain, as to impose the alcavala upon the Netherlands, a country flourishing in commerce both internal and external. It must have given a violent shock to their manufactures.

to his copper coin, almost equal to that of silver. Thus in Spain, the downfall of husbandry, arts, and commerce, was not occasioned by expulsion of the Moors, and far less by discovery of a new world *, of which the gold and silver were favourable to husbandry at least; but by exorbitant taxes, a voracious monster, which, after swallowing up the whole riches of the kingdom, has left nothing for itself to feed on. The following picture is drawn by a writer of that nation, who may be depended on for veracity as well as knowledge (a). "Poverty and distress dispeople a country, by banishing all thoughts of marriage. They even destroy sucking children; for what nourishment can a woman afford to her infant, who herself is reduced to bread and water, and is overwhelmed with labour and despair? A greater proportion accordingly die here in infancy, than where the labouring poor are more at ease; and of those who escape by strength of constitution, the scarcity of cloathing and of nourishment makes them commonly short-lived."

So blind however are the Spaniards in the administration of their finances, that the present ministry are following out the same measures in America, that have brought their native country to the brink of ruin. Cochineal, cocoa, sugar, &c. imported

* Ustariz, in his Theory and practice of commerce, proves from evident facts, that the depopulation of Spain is not occasioned by the West Indies. From Castile few go to America, and yet Castile is the worst peopled country in Spain. The northern provinces, Galicia, Asturia, Biscay, &c. send more people to Mexico and Peru than all the other provinces; and yet of all are the most populous. He ascribes the depopulation of Spain to the ruin of the manufactures by oppressive taxes; and asserts, that the West Indies tend rather to people Spain: many return home laden with riches; and of those who do not return, many remit money to their relations, which enables them to marry, and to rear children.

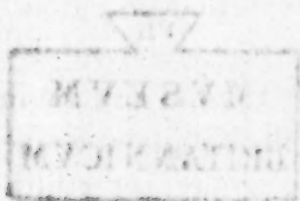
(a) Don Gieronimo de Ustariz.

into Spain duty-free, would be a vast fund of commerce with other nations : but a heavy duty on importation is an absolute bar to that commerce, by forcing the other European nations to provide themselves elsewhere. Spanish oil exported to America would be a great article of commerce, were it not barred by a heavy duty on exportation, equal almost to a prohibition : and the Spanish Americans, for want of oil, are reduced to use fat and butter, very improper for a hot climate. The prohibition of planting vines in Mexico, and the excessive duty on the importation of Spanish wines into that country, have introduced a spirit drawn from the sugar-cane, which, being more destructive than a pestilence, is prohibited under severe penalties. The prohibition however has no effect, but to give the governors of the provinces a monopoly of those spirits, which, under their protection, are sold publicly ; a commerce no less shameful than destructive.

But this subject seems to be inexhaustible. The silver and gold mines in the Spanish West Indies are, by improper taxes, rendered less profitable, both to the King and to the proprietors, than they ought to be. The King's share is the fifth part of the silver, and the tenth part of the gold, that the mines produce. There is beside a duty of eighty piastres, upon every quintal of mercury employ'd in these mines. These heavy exactions, have occasioned an abandon of all mines but what are of the richest sort. The inhabitants pay 33 *per cent.* on the goods imported to them from Spain, and they are subjected beside to the alcavala, which is 14 *per cent.* for every thing bought and sold within the country. The most provoking tax of all is what is termed *la cruciade*, being a sum paid for indulgence to eat eggs, butter, and cheese, during Lent, which is yielded by the Pope to the King of Spain. The government, it is true, obliges no person to take out such an indulgence : but the priests refuse every religious consolation to those who do not purchase ; and there is not perhaps a single person in Spanish

Spanish America who is bold enough to stand out against such oppression.

There is recorded in history, another example of destructive taxes similar to that now mentioned. Augustus, on his conquest of Egypt, having brought to Rome the treasure of its kings, gold and silver overflowed in Italy; the bulk of which found its way to Constantinople, when it became the seat of empire. By these means, Italy was sadly impoverished: the whole ground had been covered with gardens and villas, now deserted; and there was neither corn nor manufactures to exchange for money. Gold and silver became now as rare in Italy as they had been of old; and yet the same taxes that had been paid with ease during plenty of money, were rigidly exacted, which ruined all.



END of the FIRST VOLUME.

